★★★★★ Douglas MacArthur: UNFADED GREATNESS

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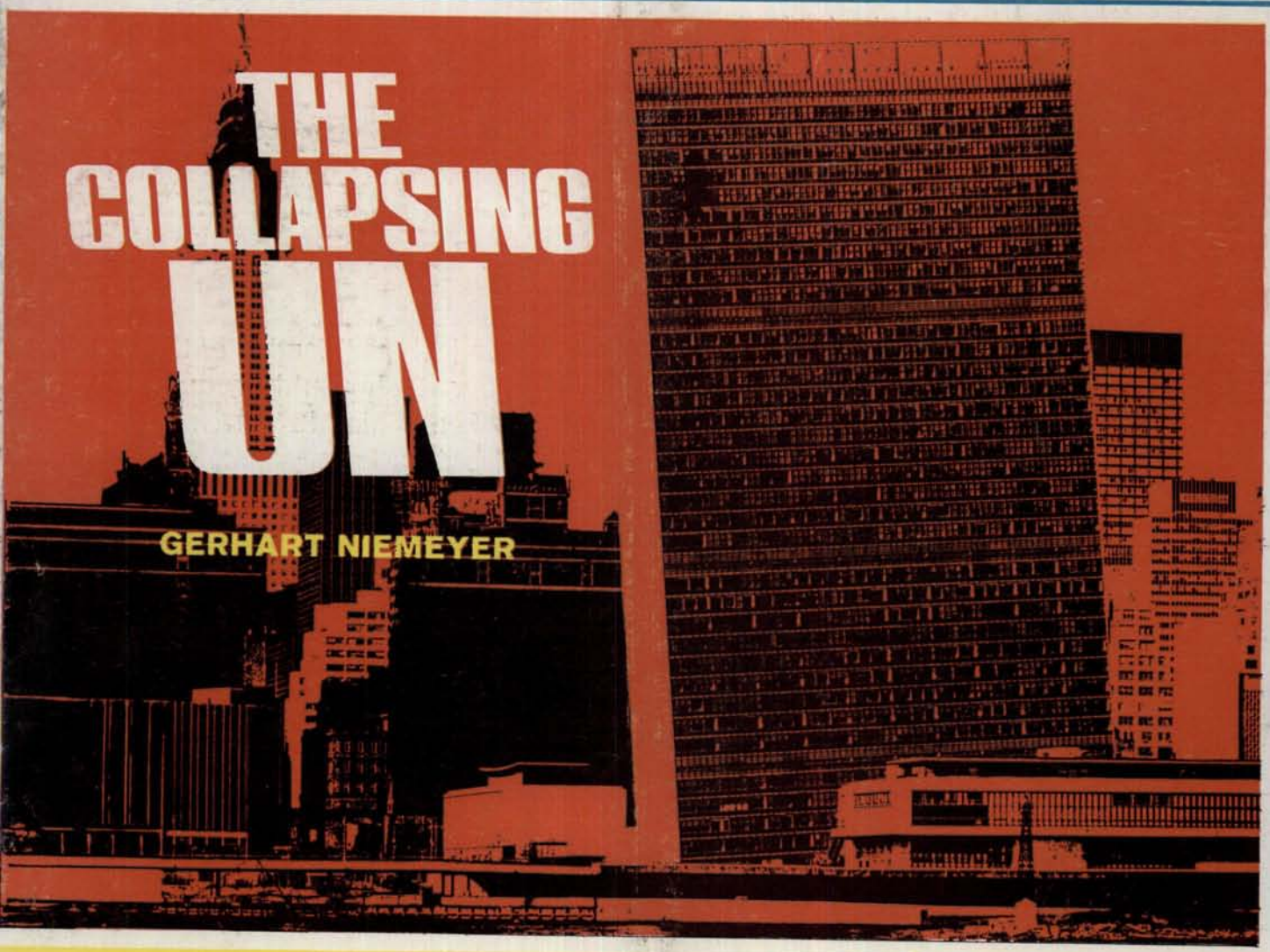
APRIL 21, 1964

NATIONAL REVIEW

A Journal of Fact and Opinion



Also In This Issue:

MEYER & BURNHAM ON GOLDWATER'S PROSPECTS AT MID-CAMPAIGN ♦ FRANCIS COOK ON HAITI'S PAPA DOC ♦ KIRK ON AVANT-GUARDE RELIGIONISTS ♦ & THE PAVLOVIAN REACTION TO POINT OF ORDER

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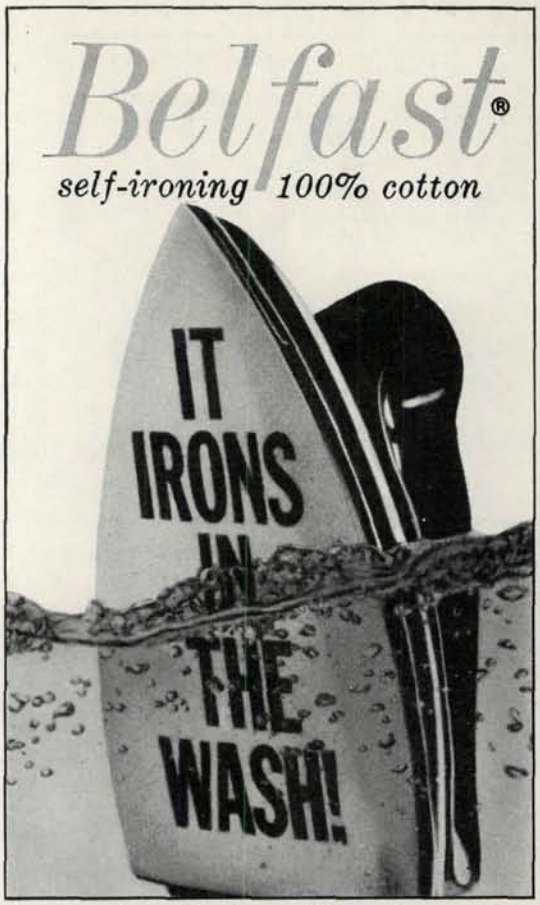

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NATIONAL REVIEW

A JOURNAL OF FACT AND OPINION

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In This Issue . . .

➔ Professor **Gerhart Niemeyer** examines the theoretical and practical claims of the United Nations, and tells us why their burden is too great for the UN to carry. Mr. Niemeyer, an Anglican, is Professor of Political Science at Notre Dame, and has taught at Yale and Princeton. He left Germany in protest against Hitler during the mid-thirties, and has written some of the most distinguished anti-Communist analyses in the great literature on the subject. . . . **Francis J. Cook** isn't really Francis J. Cook, because Papa Doc, who will not like this analysis of how he runs Haiti, had better not know who he is.

➔ **Cato** tells us what is going on, or not going on, in the Warren Commission investigating the assassination of Mr. Kennedy. It is a deepening mystery why the Warren Commission doesn't come out and say something non-enigmatic about the work it is engaged in, always assuming it is possible to say something relevant without endangering the national security. All the mystification, Cato reports, has been playing into the hands especially of European correspondents who would dearly love (see For the Record) to establish that it was all a plot by a Texas oilman, a thesis that would make our sister publication, the *Nation*, young again. . . . **James Burnham,** whose exciting new book we review this week, writes from Arizona, and speculates on some of the reasons why Senator Goldwater's campaign has appeared sluggish. . . . **Frank Meyer,** whose excellent collection, *What is Conservatism?*, is selling briskly, is optimistic about the Senator's campaign, maintaining that unless the Warren Court decides before next July that mathematics is unconstitutional, Goldwater is almost certain to make it. . . . **Russell Kirk** writes blisteringly and amusingly about modernist Christianity's attempts to make Christianity sexy. Mr. Kirk grants that there is evidence that religion is being taken more seriously than in his schooldays. But he doubts that much other progress has been made.

➔ Mr. **Edgar Ansel Mowrer,** himself the author of a book on foreign policy of first importance, believes that *Suicide of the West*, published this week, is probably Burnham's most important book, and that it will serve a great historical need. . . . **William Rickenbacker** reviews, with wit and satisfaction, two first-rate books by two Liberals, showing how the bureaucratization of government leads to confusion and injustice. . . . **Robert Drake** welcomes Professor Cleanth Brooks' (Yale, New Criticism) definitive critical analysis of the works of William Faulkner. . . . **J. Daniel Mahoney,** a lawyer by profession, quit his practice in 1962 to found, along with his brother-in-law Kieran O'Doherty, the Conservative Party of New York, which is the scourge of Liberal Republicans and is sure to play a major role in 1964. Mahoney reviews the most recent anti-McCarthy gang-bang, which has left the movie critics exhausted with pleasure.

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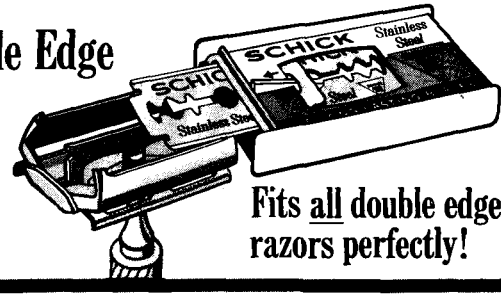

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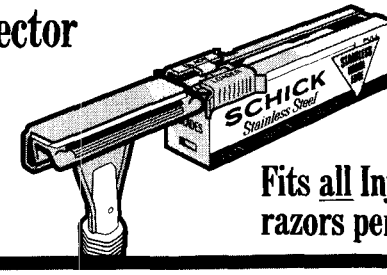

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The WEEK

● It is not known whether the evidence against the steel companies is solid, or whether the flashy suit filed against them is merely another chapter in the vendetta against Big Business that has been going on for several years. If the steel companies are guilty of monopoly practices, *i.e.*, of doing the kind of thing Big Labor does every day, then they should be prosecuted, and convicted. And guilty or not, the steel companies should certainly be penalized for failing to get advance clearance for their maneuvers from Bobby Baker.

● And it shall come to pass that the Republican Party in the State of Mississippi will be no more . . . Because Democratic Governor Paul Johnson has a series of bills before the legislature that would wipe out the opposition. There are provisions that disfranchise independents and make party switching nearly impossible (the Republican Party has had remarkable growth at Democratic expense in recent years); that disfranchise Republicans and bar a party organization and all candidacy in any county failing to be represented in a majority of its precincts (most Republican strength is in the cities, thus many rural counties will be disfranchised). There is even a provision making it impossible for an otherwise qualified Democrat to seek office unless he voted for Governor Paul Johnson! "What it amounts to," said Republican State Chairman Wirt Yerger (a Goldwater man), "is that [Gov.] Johnson and his cronies have worded the laws to include qualifications which the Democrats have already met and which the growing Republican Party has yet to obtain." It is safe to speculate that President Lyndon B. Johnson is not about to send in the bayonet squads to desegregate Mississippi Republicans.

● Syndicated reporters Rowland Evans and Robert Novak ventured into Jackson, Mississippi last week and got an awful jolt. "Incredible as it may seem," they wrote, "President Johnson's standing in this Deep South capital appears to be not much higher than President Kennedy's last summer at the height of the 'hate Kennedy' campaign for governor here."

● Down at Chapel Hill, they're just wild about Senator William Fulbright, though they do rather regret that he believes in keeping the Nigras in their place. But they are willing to overlook this, inasmuch as the Senator promises to cooperate in any program to keep the peoples enslaved by the Communists, whether white, black, or brown, in *their* place, so he really isn't guilty of discrimination, if you see what we mean, and if you don't, why, you weren't educated at Chapel Hill.

● The United States opposes colonialism and favors self-determination for all peoples; that is her policy and proudly proclaimed. But when it comes down to looking for a new site for the space tracking station ordered out of Zanzibar by the pro-Communist government there, more practical considerations prevail. Instead of shifting it to neighboring Tanganyika, Uganda, Kenya or Somalia—newly independent one-man-one-vote nations all — it will be relocated in white-controlled Southern Rhodesia.

● Venezuela has put it on the line. She has proposed that at their forthcoming meeting, the foreign ministers of the Western Hemisphere authorize member governments to use force and whatever other means are necessary to prevent "further aggression" on the part of Communist Cuba. Specifically, the Venezuelans call for the severing of diplomatic relations with Cuba, a ban on all shipping (other than food and medical supplies) between OAS nations and Cuba, and the institution of a naval patrol to put an end to Castro's export of agents, propaganda materials, and arms to the other Latin American nations. It cost Venezuela several hundred lives and millions of dollars to learn what Castro is capable of, but at least the lesson has been learned, which is more than can be said for most of Castro's other targets.

● The doctors' strike in Belgium is like a replay of Saskatchewan 1962. Two years ago a compulsory medical insurance program drove hundreds of doctors out of the prairie province, leaving hospital emergency facilities understaffed. Deaths and disasters occurred then as now, but the upshot in Saskatchewan was that the socialist provincial government dropped its scheme and restored to the doctors their right to professional freedom. But in Belgium, Premier Lefevre threatens instant nationalization of the entire medical profession by drafting it into the armed forces. No one has yet been heard to defend the doctors' conduct ("Unconscionable"—*New York Times*); and neither, in view of their counterthreat to close down *all* medical services, shall we. Instead, since history repeats itself, we repeat our original diagnosis and prescription, rendered in the case of Saskatchewan: "The corporate responsibility is the [government's] for precipitating a catastrophic situation in order to feed its lust for nationalization. But the personal responsibility is the doctors'. Let them serve notice of a staggered schedule of departure, and give the government time to train its own doctors or import them. Then let them go elsewhere, in search of freedom."

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● Malenkov, Molotov, Kaganovitch:
Were hankering to make the anti-party pitch.
Kaganovitch, Malenkov, Molotov:
Brains were what this trio lacked a whole lot of—
They thought they had the votes to put their man in,
Well, they should have called the deal off.
They wound up worse than Voroshilov,
Not to mention Shepilov and Bulganin.

● THE WORLD WE LIVE IN: As General MacArthur's funeral cortège moved solemnly down Seventh Avenue last week in a dank drizzle en route to Pennsylvania Station, it passed by three movie theaters whose marquees told much about the world he had left: 1) *It's a Mad, Mad, Mad, Mad World*, 2) *How I Stopped Worrying and Learned to Love the Bomb*, 3) *From Russia With Love*.

● TAX TIME. It's time for that annual grunt, the income tax. Even if the withholding feature takes some of the pain out of paying we may, on April 15, be reminded who pays for the fun and games in Washington, D.C. We may even permit into our minds a few cynical and anarchistic thoughts . . . Internal Revenue now spends more to collect taxes—$500 million—than the *entire* federal budget at the turn of the century; and at that, it is the most profitable monopoly in all history, netting $100 billion on its risk-free investment: 19,900% profit ratio. The feds are extremely jealous of their monopoly on taxation, which is probably why they're so harsh on con-men and protection rackets: no private competition allowed. In the same way, the T-men hound counterfeiters trying to compete with the government's monopoly on currency production and sales (without which the federal budget would have to stay balanced, because no more capital tax—"inflation"—could be levied against consumers; except if you can *con the kiddies into buying series E bonds to support* deficit spending). Do the theorists of centralist government really suppose that any of us taxpayers are wholly satisfied with national policy, or any significant part of national policy? Does the popular phrase, "the mess in Washington," imply the consent of the governed? Do you personally want to send lawn chairs to Ouagadougou? They'll be shipped April 16.

● *Time* Magazine's reaction, as expressed in a letter to a friend of NATIONAL REVIEW, to the voluminous Communist record of folksinger Malvina Reynolds (whom *Time* had identified as "of course a Liberal"): "After reviewing all the material available on Miss Reynolds, we have no reason to believe that she is a Communist sympathizer. Her views may not be your views, but this is no reason to believe that she is in any way disloyal to the United States." Perhaps *Mrs.* Reynolds' registration as a Communist Party voter, her work as a columnist for the Communist *People's World*, and the sworn testimony of two witnesses before the relevant congressional committees concerning her membership in the Party (See *NR*, March 24), do not add up to a "Communist sympathizer" to *Time*, whose files are most untimely.

● Last year Madalyn (Mad) Murray, of Baltimore, Md., who fought against the use of the Lord's Prayer in the public schools, was the sweetie of the Supreme Court, and they tore away the prayers of all the little schoolchildren to make her glad. But lately the whole fickle Court has gone a-whoring after new faces and races. Poor Mad!—alone and longing Forum. Well, Mad won't take this standing up! Chest out, stiff upper leg, win back their lapsing affection! Idea! To make them take the words "under God" out of the Pledge of Allegiance, to which purpose she has brought suit. What he-man justice could resist?

● From the Maryland Act of Toleration, 1964: "Foreasmuch as in a well-governed and Christian Common Wealth matters concerning Religion and the honor of God ought in the first place to bee taken into serious consideration and endeavored to bee settled. Be it therefore . . . enacted . . . That whatsoever person or persons within this Province . . . shall from henceforth blaspheme God, . . or deny the holy Trinity the father sonne and holy Ghost, or the Godhead of any of the said Three persons of the Trinity or the Unity of the Godhead . . . shall be punished with death and confiscation or forfeiture of all his or her lands. . . ." Pardon, that's *1649*, not 1964. Mad Murray's safe, even if the school children aren't.

● "Knock, knock."
"Who's there?"
"Hiawatha."
"Hiawatha who?"
"Hiawatha Communitht for the FBI."

Warning from Wisconsin

The results of the Wisconsin Presidential primary have given a premonitory shock to the Liberal Establishment. Governor John W. Reynolds, running as a favorite son pledged to support President Johnson, won—but he got only 66 per cent of the Democratic vote. The rest of Wisconsin's Democratic vote went to the segregationist Governor George C. Wallace of Alabama. True, there was a substantial "crossover" of Republicans included in the Wallace vote, but it cannot be written off merely as a Republican attempt to embarrass the Johnson Administration. The professional politicians wouldn't be shocked at

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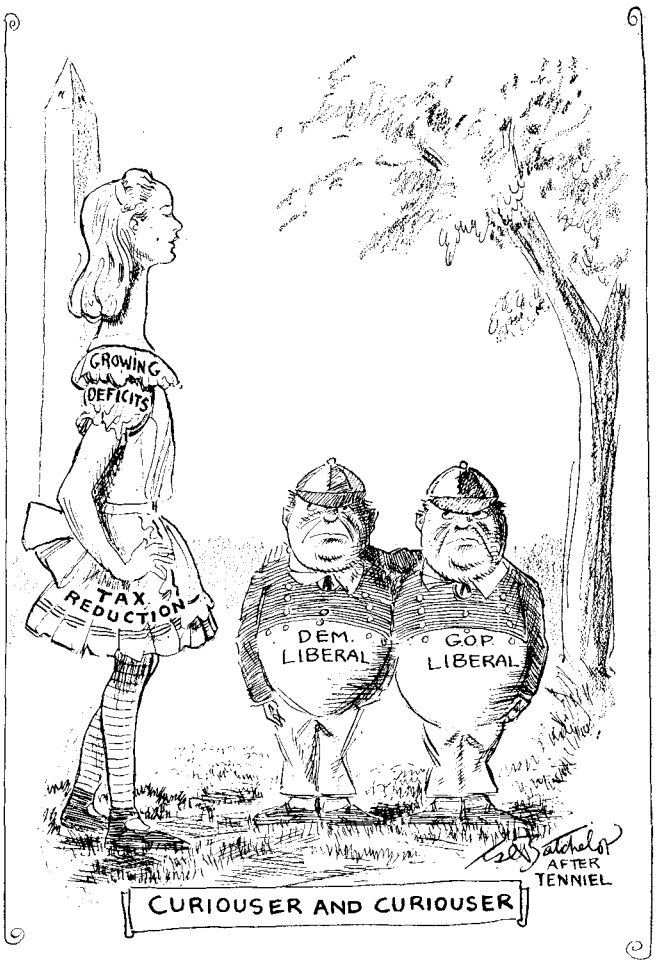
a simple case of Republican revenge after years of Democratic cross-overs confounding Wisconsin's Republican primaries. What shocks them is that this Wallace vote represents a widespread *bipartisan* rejection of the civil rights craze.

And it's even more widespread than the vote says. For the political professionals believe the anti-Johnson vote among these Northern Democrats would have swelled to scandalous proportions if the alternative Democratic candidate had been a "moderate" on civil rights and not an out-and-out segregationist. And the implications about Johnson's popularity in the South are ominous.

Wisconsin, then, has sounded a warning to the Liberals of both parties who have made a career out of civil rights. Like some Democratic politicians around New York City who are even now moderating their position on school integration, Liberals at the national level will have to decide, each after a look at his own constituency, just how much mileage there is in the hard-nose civil rights plank.

And the insiders understand that Wisconsin has also underscored a major opportunity for the GOP if it picks a candidate who is, in his personal record, unexceptionably on the side of humane and decent relations between the races, but who is also a moderate when it comes to writing laws. Senator Goldwater, let's face it, is the only Republican candidate who fits that description.



Remember the Alcazar

It is curious how little publicity has been given to the veto against Spain's joining the Common Market, when you consider how sensationally the news was received when de Gaulle vetoed the admission of England.

It was the doing primarily of Belgium and Italy. France and Germany urgently counseled the admission of Spain. But the opposition from the Low Countries and Italy was not merely persistent, it was rabid; and it was opposition not primarily on economic grounds, but on ideological grounds.

Paul-Henri Spaak, speaking for Belgium, announced bluntly that he would not enter into any dealings with a country dominated by General Franco. And Italy's representative said much the same thing.

To consider first the ideological meaning of the episode: how strange it is that Mr. Spaak, who for years has identified himself as the premier apostle of Western unity, should lead this movement in retroactive vindictiveness. The gentleman's endless rhetoric about the necessity for European cohesion, for Parliaments of Man, for Divine Understanding on Earth—crumbles into its demagogic components when one reflects that 25 years after the termination of the Civil War in Spain, he will not swallow his pride. Not even so far as to admit into economic partnership a nation which, having been racked by civil war, and saved from Left-totalitarianism primarily by the exertions of its own fighting men (unlike Belgium, which depended, during the war, primarily on others to liberate it), is making slow, but steady progress towards recovery and towards liberty.

The action of the Italians was even more incongruous. The Italians refuse to forgive Franco for what he did 25 years ago, but the Americans, the English, and the French were expected to forgive the Italians for what they did half an hour after the Second World War was concluded. The Italians celebrate their *apertura a sinistra*, show themselves disposed to entertain Khrushchev's son-in-law in Rome, enter into a coalition government with a Left political party which has consistently followed the Communist Party line, and openly declare their intention of increasing trade with the Soviet Union. But they cavil at increasing their trade with Franco Spain.

This kind of ideological sectarianism leads to increasingly gloomy forebodings about the future of the Common Market. Wary observers such as Professor Wilhelm Roepke of Geneva warned from the beginning that the Common Market was sure not

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Focus on NOV. 3

◆ GOP delegate tally. Goldwater now has 91 pledged delegates (25 from N.C., 22 Okla., 18 Ga., 16 S.C., 6 Kan., 4 Tenn.). Lodge has 14 (from N.H.). All other GOP pretenders together have zero.

◆ Richard Nixon's "business" trip started on March 22 and will have taken him to Beirut, Karachi, Singapore, Kuala Lumpur, Bangkok, Saigon, Hong Kong, Manila, Taipei, and Tokyo before he returns to New York on April 14 late at night. His office staff at Nixon Mudge explain that he has law business at every stop. However, the law firm of Nixon Mudge doesn't have a foreign department, and maintains only one overseas office—in Paris, where lawyer Nixon ain't been seen for aeons.

◆ For a further indication of bipartisan rank-and-file repudiation of the Johnson civil rights business, watch the Maryland Presidential primary (May 19) where, as the Democrats fear, Alabama's Governor Wallace may "pull another Wisconsin."

◆ If there's a groundswell for Governor Rockefeller, it must be on his finca in Venezuela. Only by voluminous infusions of cash at the last minute could Rockefeller get the professional petition-passers in California to find enough signatures to put him on the ballot (whereas the Goldwater petitions went over the top on the first day). And in New Jersey, after some effort to gather signatures early in March, the Rockefeller forces ran into such stunning indifference that they dropped the project altogether. Rockefeller won't be on the Jersey ballot.

◆ Down Texas way (that primary is June 16), the Rockefeller troops are screaming bloody murder. They didn't want their man on the ballot at all, but the ruling stood that any announced Presidential candidate could have a crack at Texas. Rockefeller's forces don't like such omens as the straw vote taken March 21 at the convention of the Texas Federation of Young Republicans, where Goldwater got 93.9 per cent of the votes.

◆ Youth for Goldwater reports growing enthusiasm for the Freedom Specials, two trains (one from Washington, one from Charlottesville) that will go troubadouring and bandwagoning to the GOP National Convention with a fair share of the next generation on board, and come home, they hope, as Victory Specials. (For details, write Youth for Goldwater, P.O. Box 1964, Wash. 25.)

◆ Rehashing the New Hampshire experience, and planning for the primaries to come, the Goldwater forces have decided on a major shift in campaign tactics. From now on the Senator will spend more time on big television hookups and less time on street corners. The reasoning: everyone *knows* he's likable, but many don't know exactly what he's saying, because they can't get through the Paper Curtain the press has let down around him. So Goldwater will take to the air waves—over the heads of the city editors, and straight to the people.

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only to fail, but to grow into an anti-social, incestuous cartel, unless it grew continuously, encompassing, year after year, more and more countries, working ultimately towards a great regional area of free trade, comprehending at the very least the entire Atlantic Community.

First de Gaulle, now Belgium and Italy, have, by the exercise of their petulant vetoes, prevented this kind of growth, and so shattered an exciting vision.

Seven Days in April

There were a breathless few moments after Goulart was run out of the country, just seven days after the military had begun to stir, when one actually wondered what the attitude of the Administration would be. One Washington reporter, Mr. Bruce Phillips, wrote in his column: "The power struggle in Brazil poses an acute dilemma for the United States, which sees little good emerging from the dispute. To start with, the U.S. doesn't know which side to back. The State Department has declined any comment beyond admitting to deep concern, a stance designed to mask the conflicting views inside the government." But sanity prevailed, and Mr. Johnson, to be sure hanging on hard to a rhetorical lifesaver (he actually referred to it as a "democratic coup"!), welcomed the new government, without the sullen interval, or the inveighing against unconstitutionalism, that characterized his predecessor's response to the coups in Peru and the Dominican Republic.

Brazil was headed for chaos, and the demagogic Goulart, while probably not himself a Communist, had found in the Communists his natural allies in disruption. The propaganda mills of the Left will of course grind away, in an effort to discredit the liberators. And they themselves face the awesome problem of informing the citizenry that they cannot live as they have done during the past years, and expect to make any economic progress whatever. One is reminded of the dilemma of the military who overthrew Perón. The *descamisados* greatly resented the end of the national spree, not knowing how deeply Perón had degutted the economy to make possible the nine-year saturnalia; and even now, the typical

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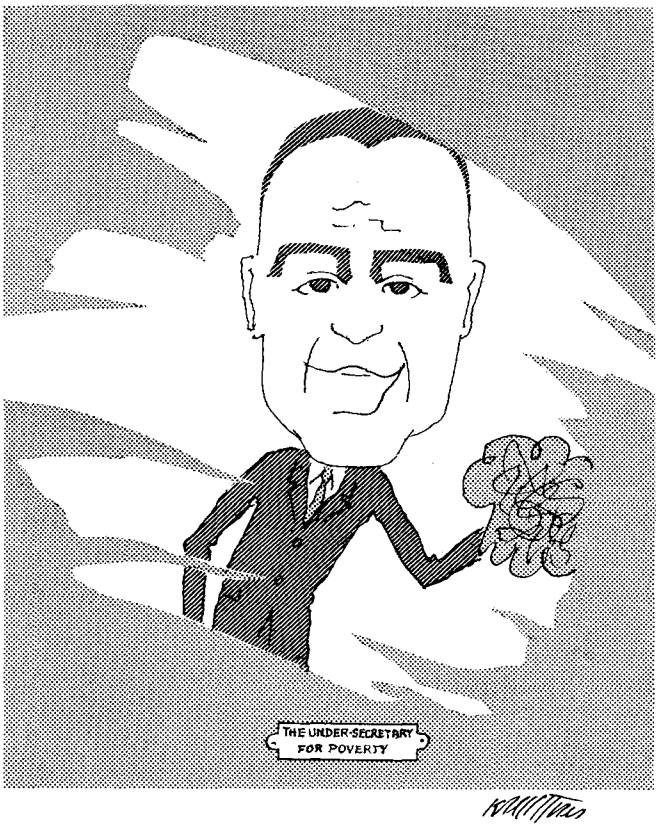
Argentinian associates the Perón years with pomp and plenty. A responsible government in Brazil will have to persuade the people that, even though they have seen Paree, they must now go back to the farms, and work; and above all, put an end to inflation.

It is a stroke of very good fortune for the Brazilians, and in such moments one thanks Heaven that it is possible, here and there, under special circumstances, to bring to a successful consummation a plot against a demoralized, demagogic, anti-social, anti-freedom party. It is also a stroke of good fortune for President Johnson, who would not have had an easy time explaining to the American people next fall why Brazilian Communism is no threat to this country. If Mr. Thomas Mann, the director of Latin American affairs in Mr. Johnson's government, is in any way responsible for galvanizing the coup, or for orienting the Administration towards a friendly response to it, he should have the thanks of a grateful nation.

CLARIFIERS OF THE MURK



"—and we here highly resolve that these fumblers—I mean these dead—shall not have fumbled—I mean died—in vain—that this nation, under me—I mean under God—shall go off on a new binge of irresponsibility—I mean shall have a new birth of freedom—and those people of the government—I mean that government of the people, by the government—I mean by the people, for the government—I mean for the people, shall not be pried—I mean shall not perish—from the trough—I mean from the earth."

A National Party for Conservatives?

It is strange, but true, that a few conservatives cling to the myth that if only we had a national political party of our own, we could take power. There is, for instance, talk, though it is not to be taken seriously, of trying to form a national Conservative Party in the event that Barry Goldwater is not nominated by the Republicans. To begin with, Senator Goldwater would have the good sense promptly to repudiate that party, and most of the nation's conservatives, following his counsel on the matter, would refuse to cooperate with it—even if, as is altogether conceivable, they also went on to refuse to vote for the candidate endorsed by the Republican Convention.

And if Goldwater loses at San Francisco, it will be either because he was cheated by the manipulators—or because another candidate showed greater public strength. In the event of the former, the thing to do would be to set out to invigorate the leadership. But without the Republican Party, the present fight for Goldwater could not have been made, and he'd have got less far than he has, if the vehicle had been a third party.

In some states where there are already three parties, and the third is to the left of the major parties, it may be necessary, as it clearly had become in New York, to found a local fourth party to exercise countervailing pressure. But a national third party would seem to us to make no sense at all, win or lose at San Francisco.

Douglas MacArthur, RIP

It is a key to the understanding of what has happened to this country that Dwight Eisenhower became President, rather than Douglas MacArthur. This is not the time to slight Mr. Eisenhower, whose principal fault, after all, lies in his intimate relationships with his age: the age is at fault, not Eisenhower; the age was not imaginative enough for MacArthur. The age was afraid of MacArthur, and well might it have been, because he stood above it, as de Gaulle stands above his own time. In France they turned, at last, to de Gaulle, but only because the deadly inefficiency of the French finally prevented recourse to yet one more mediocrity. We in America, being a little more efficient—a little more conservative—than the French, never felt the need to reach beyond a mediocrity, so we elected the affable Eisenhower, and let MacArthur go to his Colombey-les-deux-Eglises at the Waldorf Towers, there to fade away.

Even while he did that, he managed to retain his

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IN THE NEXT ISSUE

CAN SOUTHERN RHODESIA SURVIVE?

◆ *AN APPRAISAL*
by Elspeth Huxley

◆ *WHAT ITS LEADERS THINK*
by Thomas Molnar

grandeur. It is an unfortunate image—"fade away"—as if, as the years went by, the General had grown paler and paler, ending up in a pastel insipidity from which all the vital colors of his manhood had drained. He grew, eventually, physically weak, but his powers were undiminished, his august presence unmistakable. When, as recently as a year ago, he walked into the meeting of the jaded celebrities from all over the world that *Time* Magazine had convoked to celebrate an anniversary, he, and only he, produced that throat-catching sense of excitement which Henry Luce, subsequently introducing him, was prepared, honestly, and even boyishly, to acknowledge as an almost metaphysical property of that man.

MacArthur was the last of the great Americans. It isn't at all certain that America is capable of producing another man of MacArthur's cast. Such men spring from the loins of nations in whose blood courage runs: and we are grown anemic. That is why so many have spoken of an age that would die with MacArthur. An age when, occasionally, heroes arose, acknowledging as their imperatives the Duty, Honor, and Country which MacArthur cherished, but which the nation that rejected him has no stomach for, preferring the adulterated substitutes of the Age of Modulation, approved by the Pure Food and Drug Act, and adorned by the seal of *Good Housekeeping* Magazine.

It did not matter that he lived as a recluse in the Waldorf Towers, his presence was felt right up to the last minute, when messages of grief and concern stormed the Walter Reed Hospital, on a scale that overwhelmed hospital officials, who had never seen the like of it. A lot of us felt that for so long as he lived, the nation drew, somehow, from his great strength. And now it is, we are, sad and lonely; and grateful. If we as a nation must die, we can find no better words to die by, this side of scripture, than his, given at his last public appearance at West Point:

"The shadows are lengthening for me. The twilight is here. My days of old have vanished—tone and tint. They have gone glimmering through the dreams of things that were. Their memory is one of wondrous beauty, watered by tears and coaxed and caressed by the smiles of yesterday. I listen vainly, but with thirsty ear, for the witching melody of faint bugles blowing reveille, of far drums beating the long roll. . . . But in the evening of my memory . . . always there echoes and re-echoes: Duty, Honor, Country."

Notes and Asides

We wish to share a letter with you, from a recipient of our annual Fund Appeal letter:

Dear Mr. Buckley:

Thank you for thinking of me in your time of need. However, I fear that you have been misled by the stylish and picturesque nature of my address. The fact of the matter is that "Tamal," California, is the mailing address of the State Prison at San Quentin, the number after my name is no Zip Code, and I am a convict here—not a Warden. Truly, we live in an age of euphemism and cant.

Sad as my situation is, I still have enough sympathy left over for the plight of NATIONAL REVIEW, and were it in my power to lend assistance, I would do so gladly. The subscription to your excellent journal represents one pint of O-Positive (blood, mine) sold at the local blood bank. I consider it blood well spent, but I wouldn't want to carry it to the point of anemia. I realize that the crisis is great, but at this time I am at the fiscal end.

We Conservatives constitute a small minority of the student body here. In fact, I am the only convict I know of having a subscription to NATIONAL REVIEW. This lone copy makes the rounds, and believe me is well-thumbed by the time it is returned.

I have shown your letter to all the guys on my NATIONAL REVIEW route, and they join me in sending best wishes for a speedy recovery. The loss of your journal would be a terrible blow, for we regard it as a bright spot in an otherwise sterile existence. I know you are in need, and if things really get tough, let me know. Providing my hemoglobin will stand the strain, I am good for a ten dollar touch. Greater love hath no man, and so forth.

Sincerely,

William Ellhamer
Box No. A-9428
Tamal, California

Mr. Ellhamer, to whom we are very grateful, has, we have discovered, only treated the 7th Commandment lightly, could obviously make a very good living as a writer, and might be glad to receive encouragement from some of his fellow Conservatives.

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From WASHINGTON Straight

Not in Your Lifetime

► The Warren Commission continues to hold hearings, nine to five, day after day. But nobody knows what it is up to.

There was, of course, the famous remark, thrown hastily to reporters by Chief Justice Earl Warren, that the full facts of the case might not be given out in their lifetime. And there have been a few impromptu press conferences called by Warren and the Commission's Chief Counsel J. Lee Rankin. Reporters grumble that most of the inside information is leaked to Supreme Court correspondents, trusted friends of the Chief Justice. There have been such leaks. Most recently the major wire services reported—without byline, on attribution—that "the end is in sight so far as questioning witnesses and examining other witnesses is concerned," and that the Commission "has found no evidence the crime was anything but the irrational act of an individual." The information obviously came from somebody high up in the Commission. Yet reporters learned that witnesses had in fact been scheduled through the last week in April, with depositions to be taken by staff members from hundreds more.

Magnificent Seven

► The Commission, inevitably characterized by the press as a "blue-ribbon panel," consists of Senators Richard Russell and John Sherman Cooper, Reps. Gerald Ford and Hale Boggs, Allen Dulles, John McCloy and of course Warren. The two senators are deeply involved in the civil rights struggle. The congressmen can ill afford to spend fifty hours a week listening to discursive testimony. The Chief Justice, having arrived at 9 AM, leaves at ten to preside over the Court. Mr. McCloy has heavy commitments elsewhere. Allen Dulles, however, is almost always present. The staff work and interrogation is largely managed by Chief Counsel Rankin. A modern Republican (he was Ike's Solicitor General), Rankin is considered a competent lawyer, but may be overly impressed by the surrounding brass.

He has a staff of several attorneys, a few FBI investigators and a self-sufficient clerical bureaucracy on loan from other government agencies. Rankin's special assistant, Norman Redlich, has an interesting background. A New York University law professor, Redlich is a member of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee cited both by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee as a Communist front. The ECLC is especially close to the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, of which Lee Harvey Oswald was a member. Redlich is, by the way, on record as favoring the abolition of HUAC and his name appeared among the signers of an anti-HUAC petition run in the *New York Times*, Feb. 9, 1961. Rankin will tell you he did not himself hire Redlich but will decline to say who did.

The Problem of Closure

► The hearings have not been run very smoothly. Several Commission members, Sen. Russell especially, are apparently disgusted by the conduct of the investigation. Several weeks ago it was widely circulated that Russell was ready to resign. He didn't. And the confusion remains. Voluminous records are being accumulated, some for the sake of accumulation, to anticipate any charge of negligence. A final accounting by the Commission is not imminent. Rep. Ford has predicted a report by "early summer." More likely, a few hundred pages of testimony, or the FBI report submitted in December, will be issued at that time, before the Republican convention, to document the Commission's diligence.

LBJ on Civil Rights

► The Republican National Committee has issued a report on the civil rights record of LBJ.

Since moving to the White House, LBJ has been eloquent on the subject . . . of civil rights, that is, not on the subject of his own record. In his State of the Union message in January, the President said, "As far as the writ of federal law will run, we must abolish not some but all racial discrimination." Congress has learned to accept his insincerity.

For twenty years, 1940-1960, LBJ spoke eloquently against civil rights proposals in the Congress. Said LBJ, campaigning for the Senate in 1948: "This civil rights program, about which you have heard so much, is a farce and a sham—an effort to set up a police state in the guise of liberty. I am opposed to that program. I fought it in Congress. . . . I am against the FEPC because if a man can tell you whom you must hire, he can tell you whom you cannot employ. I have met this head on." LBJ gave down his final, or rather penultimate, judgment (now he is for it) on FEPC legislation in a Senate speech: "I can only hope sincerely that the Senate will never be called upon to entertain seriously any such proposal again." He served the opponents of rights legislation long and well as parliamentarian, as filibusterer, as voter. He voted on 89 civil rights proposals and procedural matters. He was aligned with the hard-core anti-civil rights bloc 70 times, or 79 per cent of the time.

Washington remembers the "pride and satisfaction" with which President Johnson hailed the passage of the 24th Amendment abolishing the poll tax last January. The Committee's report, with obvious satisfaction, notes that Senator Johnson took pride and satisfaction in voting *against* abolition of the poll tax twelve out of thirteen times. Easily the happiest man in the Senate these days is Republican John Tower. The Democratic senators who oppose the Bill are shy of bringing in the President. Tower just sits back and reads the President's old speeches.

—CATO

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Letter from the Caribbean

Haiti Today

FRANCIS J. COOK

AFTER THE United States, Haiti is the earliest "decolonized" nation in the Americas. Unfortunately it benefited less from colonialism than any other country of the Hemisphere. To understand Haiti today we must recall that its *dominant* cultural pattern is neither Spanish nor British but French; and that at the same time it is the most "African" nation outside Africa. Haiti lives in proverbial enmity with its only neighbor, the Dominican Republic. Whereas the vast majority of Haitians are Negroes and only a small minority is of mixed blood, Santo Domingo has a white upper crust, a mulatto middle layer, and a Negro substratum—all of them with a Spanish background.

Haiti's mulatto top layer is by and large highly cultured, French educated, internationally connected and often intermarried with whites. The Negro masses also have some white blood; in most cases this is readily observed. Yet they have come to dislike the mulattoes who have been more successful than they, and it is consequently easy to mobilize these masses, totalitarian fashion, into a "dynamically democratic" movement based on envy and jealousy of the mulatto upper crust.

The present dictatorship of "Papa Doc," the physician Dr. Duvalier, largely rests—or, at least, rested in the beginning—on the exploitation of racial antagonism between dark and light brown. These racial antagonisms, however, by no means explain the entire nature of the Duvalier dictatorship, which shows a number of strictly totalitarian characteristics. That this particular tyranny is not fully totalitarian is due only to the fact that Haiti is still woefully backward.

The government simply cannot engage in wire tapping because, after the termination of the American occupation in 1935, the telephone system the Marines had installed slowly decayed and finally broke down. The telephone poles mostly still stand but the wires flop sadly in the wind. Papa Doc's black face does not appear in the role of Big Brother on television screens because the age of TV has yet to dawn in Haiti. The rigidly controlled press has very little impact since the majority of adults can neither read nor write.

Papa Doc cannot always approach his people over the radio either, because twice every evening electricity, which has to be husbanded, is cut off for an hour. Nor is his dictatorship of a military nature; the army has been severely curtailed and cut down. In recent years it has been largely replaced by the VSN, the *Volontaires de la Sécurité Nationale,* who stop cars on the roads practically every five miles. They are called *Tonton-Macoutes* after certain evil Voodoo-spirits.

'Negritude' & Voodoo

At a time when two Catholic bishops (of Port-au-Prince and Gonaives) have been expelled, together with the Nuncio, the officially fostered religion is of African origin: Voodoo. Papa Doc practices this sinister faith originating in Dahomey (where the horrors of the *Zenanyana,* the "Evil Night," are still not forgotten).

Besides promoting the curious and hazy principles of "negritude," Papa Doc practices Voodoo partly because he believes in it and partly because he regards it as the folk-religion of Haiti. For some time he had dabbled in ethnology and while still in the opposition, he had sought the amity of the *hungans,* the Voodoo priests, as well as of the *bokors,* the black magicians in whose witchcraft so many natives do believe. Even if active practice of the Voodoo ritual is restricted to a bare majority, the belief in the efficacy of Voodoo magic is almost universal.

Whatever the power of sorcery, the more tangible realities of the Duvalier tyranny are very obvious. Fort Dimanche, whose white walls rise just outside of Port-au-Prince, is not only a concentration camp but also a slaughter house where "Baron Samedia," the chief Voodoo Guédé (death-deity), rules supreme. His effigy—a sinister aristocrat with top hat, striped trousers, and monocle—can be admired over the entrance doors to *Houmfis,* the Voodoo prayer houses. Arrests at night are routine. The press is completely muzzled; everywhere inscriptions and streamers praise the wisdom, the goodness, the loyalty and strength of Papa Doc in splendid French phrases, only partly understood by the Créole-speaking population which, by the way, is docile, good-hearted, timid, trusting and only sporadically given to outbreaks of savagery. Of course, the intelligentsia of Haiti is mostly in exile—in Miami, in Jamaica, and even in the congenitally disliked neighboring Dominican Republic.

It looks as if their exile will be prolonged. Last week Papa Doc modestly disclosed that a man of his caliber is produced in Haiti only every 50 to 75 years and that in consequence, and in response to popular demand, he was assuming the presidency for life.

The American Government has shown itself far less severe in its moral judgment of the Duvalier tyranny than in its dealings with other Latin American countries. The State Department seems, justly, to despair of any possibility of a constitutional government of democratic pattern in Haiti. One might only wish that this skepticism embraced other parts of the globe. . . .

In Haiti fear is so omnipotent, so omnipresent, that few people dare look forward to the distant future which promises only further decay. From the remote past the great figures of the Liberators are still dimly remembered: Toussaint L'Ouverture, Dessalines, Henri Christophe. It seems to the impartial observer that, today, whatever the national pride, only too many in Haiti would again greet the U.S. Marines with delight. Ineluctably one asks oneself whether something similar might be said about large parts of Africa 175 years hence?

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The Collapsing UN

An analysis of the underlying premises on which the United Nations rest and why they'll never develop into the world government of the Utopians

GERHART NIEMEYER

Many thoughtful people are dubious of the value to the United States of membership in the United Nations; some believe the United States should withdraw from it; others think continued American participation might be justified, were the Soviet Union not a member of the organization. Proposals have been made, not only in the United States but also in allied countries, to form another kind of United Nations, perhaps a purely Western institution, something like NATO.

Officially, support for the UN, action through the UN, acquiescence to UN intervention, even in domestic political problems, seem now to be integral to the foreign policy of this country. "More than ever," President Johnson said, addressing the last General Assembly, "we support the United Nations as the best instrument yet devised to promote the peace of the world."

The UN is the successor organization to the League of Nations. To understand it, it must be thought of in the terms in which the League was conceived by its spiritual author, Woodrow Wilson.

In its aftermath, World War I was said to have come about as a result of a maladjustment, a failure of contact, between the power policies of various nations. Beyond that, the very system prevailing in international relations then—a balance of power between groups of states—was blamed for the war's outbreak. Those responsible for American policy maintained that such a system would always pose the danger of war, that it was irrational in itself, as power was irrational. There was need, it was felt, to create rational procedures for settling disputes, for avoiding war, and for implementing any changes on the international level esteemed necessary by anyone. The justification for this approach to international relations ran somewhat as follows: People do not want war. A government truly representative of its people can never be inclined to go to war. Hence, all representative governments have an interest in common —that of world peace. The only thing that could prevent their maintaining it would be misunderstanding of one another's policies and intentions. If, however, there existed an international organization which could provide procedures and channels for argument and discussion, no government would need to go to war to attain a national objective. Were any nation ever to commit aggression, either it would not be a truly representative nation, or it would have been motivated by some peculiar atavistic impulse. This would be a regrettable situation—in which all other nations should immediately combine against the aggressor.

The Rationale

Ideally, we see, an international political organization should provide means for the peaceful settlement of disputes; it should also encourage understanding among nations. The same organization should also provide for common international action against any aggressor who might occasionally arise among the nations by a fluke of backwardness. This collective action against aggression would not be undertaken solely to frustrate the aggressor militarily; it would also educate other governments of the world, by example, to abide by those international interests that have received universal approbation. There is the rationale underlying the League of Nations and the United Nations.

That rationale makes use of a number of concepts, as can be seen. War here is considered a universal evil, one that threatens all nations alike, a danger they have a common interest in avoiding. This might be called a common negative interest. Another underlying concept is that of the truly representative state, a postulated type of "normal state." It is deemed inconceivable that such a state could ever reach the point in its relations with another nation that waging war against it would be the only possible means to achieve an objective. War itself is conceived as something in the order of a "breach of the peace," a concept in our domestic law. It must be banned. Conflicts among nations are called "disputes," and everyone knows disputes can be settled by rational procedures. If the position of a nation in the world is to change—and this is conceived as "peaceful change"—if boundaries are to be altered or a treaty abridged, it can be arranged by discussion. At the bottom of everything is the idea of a supposed system of world peace and order, or world law and order, to which nations feel deeper attachment than to their own interests. If a nation does not, it is considered backward, selfish, parochial.

The main significance of both the League of Nations and the United Nations is that by their mere existence these institutions were supposed to provide a fundamental reorientation for national policies. Nations, that is to say, would follow the criterion of a common international interest which would somehow have its existence in a way defined no further than its mere being, rather than following the main criterion of unilaterally determined national interests. Particularly in a case of aggression, nations were supposed to cut all previously existing ties with the aggressor nation, turn against it, and at no matter what expense to themselves, defend the so-called international interests under attack by the aggressor. Austria, for instance, right next to

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Italy, was supposed to help impose sanctions on that country when it attacked Ethiopia. Had the consequences of Austria's action been dire, the other nations were supposedly to aid the country against the aggressor, Italy. In brief: According to the philosophy that underlay the League of Nations and that supports the United Nations today, individual nations are supposed to accept the decisions of an international organization as conclusive criteria concerning their own rank, power, destiny, or, indeed, national interests.

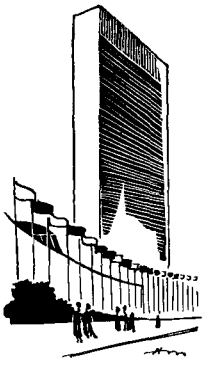
Basic Fallacy

This entire set of concepts belongs to that illusionary world that took shape in the elaboration of Liberal ideas, particularly the progressivist, then the positivist view of history, both of which conceive of Humanity as something to which, above all, allegiance is owed, rather than to the nation. Both set up the eventual elimination of war and all international friction as the touchstone of a perfection towards which history, one supposes, is inevitably moving. Everything international, therefore, became labeled "progressive"; and everyone who supported internationalism could enjoy the feeling he was on the side of history, and on the side of the angels.

Such an historical view is fallacious, in a number of ways.

The basic fallacy lies in assuming that an international organization could constitute the same kind of reality that a nation does. A nation unites individuals into a common system of action, law and order. In the same way, it is alleged, the UN unites nations into a common structure of ordered life. In truth, however, nations are real in a sense in which international organizations never can be real. The reason is that nations have their roots directly in the convictions, experiences, and loyalties of individual persons. Only individuals are ultimately real. Individuals, however, are capable of a "we" consciousness, of allegiance to public authority, and of obligation to society as a whole. In this sense, nations are real, a part of everyday human life, entities supported by living loyalties, capable of action, measured and judged in terms of truth. An international organization, by contrast, deals not with individual persons but with governments. It is too far removed from individuals to have reality in the sense in which a nation has it. An international organization of the UN type is not and never can be a community. It has unity only insofar as governments in their relations with each other can achieve accord. Governments, however, are responsible to their own citizens and countries. It is not selfishness that causes nations primarily to look inward and to be mindful of their own interests, but rather the opposite, a sense of duty toward the maintenance, defense, and well-being of that world of order, that structural bit of life which is circumscribed by their national boundaries. Men live under law, enjoy culture, create values only within the framework of nations. In that sense, nations have an immediacy to human existence, a reality which is unique.

In the same sense, international organization is not an order of life. It has reality only insofar as nations from time to time are able to agree. The UN is not an actuality in the way in which even the smallest nation is; the UN rather is only a facility for various nations to discuss potential common action. Let us therefore drop the mental habit of treating an international organization as if it were merely a higher degree of the same kind of unity that a nation is. Attached to the UN are many extremely useful and valuable activities in such fields as health, communications, transportation, education, etc. But such activities were carried on by international organizations long before the UN and even the League of Nations, and they could continue even if the UN as a "peace" organization no longer existed. As a peace organization, however, the UN, compared with the reality of nations, is nothing —not a government, not a community, not a system of law and order, nor a way of life, and, therefore, not a proper object of loyalty.



Another of the internationalist's fallacies: his concept of war. War is not like a disease—cancer, say—that affects everyone in the same way. War means something different to various nations in the light of their different situations and the dangers that threaten them. That which is evil to one nation is not an evil to another, but perhaps the only way to survive.

Here is one more fallacy: It concerns the nature of the use of force. Force is by no means always aggression. The identification of force with aggression, or aggression with force, emanates from the fallacy that there is an international community that can mobilize peace in much the way it is organized within a nation. But this international community does not exist. Peace does not have the same kind of organizational reality among nations as it has within nations; force can be employed legitimately, under certain circumstances, in international relations. Within a nation, the use of force has been strictly limited under the order of law that has a government to serve it. For the sake of this order, the government can use force to protect itself against its enemies.

Force Outlawed

It is possible to define aggression as the use of force for illegitimate purposes. But what are, internationally speaking, illegitimate purposes? Anyone who has ever followed the attempts of international committees and commissions to define aggression along any rational lines, knows that the difficulties are insurmountable. It seems to be impossible to define the legitimate use of force in international situations and set it off against the illegitimate, because questions that arise between nations are so unpredictable that their elements cannot be reduced to a universally applicable formula without doing injustice to the possible rightful needs of a nation. Therefore the concept of aggression, as such, is a blind one, an irrational concept, one that is repaired to in the effort to outlaw force, whereas force, under certain circumstances, is both legitimate and necessary.

Among the internationalist's mistaken ideas, we ought to consider his concept of disputes. One recalls Revelation 12:7: "And there was war

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in Heaven." Perhaps the Bible should be rewritten so that there was never a war in Heaven because the dispute was settled peacefully. Of course, there are disputes. Beyond disputes, however, there are also basic conflicts in which not merely limited claims but the very existence of nations is at stake. When the existence of nations is in question, so too is the existence of systems of law and order in which basic human values may be involved. To believe a conflict in which these values are at stake can be handled as if it were a lawsuit or a minor disagreement is, to say the least, unrealistic. Peaceful international change in these circumstances is wrought, one can be sure, because someone's arm has been twisted; it comes to that. There is no single system for the maintenance of law and order to which nations can be expected to give a higher allegiance than they do to their own; yet according to the ideologies of the United Nations, governments should be expected to exercise loyalty to international order above fidelity to their own system, their own citizens, their nation and its traditions.

Were there an international system of law and order effective all over the world among all nations, this demand could be plausible. There is not, though. Now the internationalist suggests, "If you begin by saying there is no system of law and order applicable everywhere, there will never be. You must begin by acting as if there were, then such a system will arise." You can read such statements in monographs on the United Nations. In no other argument is the character of the internationalist's ideology more apparent. In effect, he would have it that if we pretend long enough that something exists, why, it eventually will!

The nation is an entity to which you can make reference, to which you can be loyal; you can support it, you can defend it. The idea of Humanity is a concept of infinite dimension that is not comparable to the finite complex of existence and interests which is a nation. There are obligations we sometimes call "duty to humanity." These can be identified. They are concerned with our comportment towards individuals; they do not have anything whatsoever to do with obligations toward an alleged universal society, of which we form a part.

If all this be true, if international solidarity is not a real scheme, the entire logic of an international organization proves inherently misconstructed with the collapse of its original false premises.

I would like to emphasize a point here: there is a difference between

the United Nations and world government, as there is between the United Nations and NATO, and these are not comparable entities.

World government would be the institution of a world-wide imperium. By imperium, we mean the Roman title of authority over persons and property everywhere. It is a political entity composed not of nations, but of individuals, an entity that can levy taxes and make laws with direct obligatory force over all persons. In contrast, an international organization like the UN has as membership only sovereign nations; the nations remain sovereign to the extent they may or may not adhere to the organization's resolutions; the organization, therefore, can act solely by agreement among the various nations. We may conclude, because of this factor, that we as a great power should be among the first to defend the veto in the Security Council, even when it is invoked by the Soviet Union.

NATO's distinction from the UN should be obvious after all that has been said here. Both the League of Nations and the UN were instituted as international agencies for world peace and as deliberate substitutes for the classical system of alliances. NATO is an alliance. It conforms to the pattern of securing peace by opposing force to threatening force. It was created to redress the international balance of power in favor of the West. Directed against the Soviet Union, it must be conceptually partial; whereas an international security organization must by definition be universal. A UN without Communist-ruled countries might make sense; even in excluding the irrational few, it still would claim universality. But a UN of the West would simply be an enlarged NATO. It would not be a UN.

Something ought to be said, probably, about the development of the UN in contrast to that of the League of Nations. The League, it seems, collapsed because the great powers were not fully agreed when it came to the exercise of collective action, particularly when Italy attacked Ethiopia. On the other hand, as World War II came to an end, it appeared the great powers and other nations of the world had learned to cooperate with one another. What had been learned in this way during the war could be protracted into the postwar period, it was assumed. War's cooperation could now be built into the United Nations; this in the form of the Security Council. The UN could act anywhere in the world, even employing force, if the five great powers of the Security Council were agreed.

Pasvolsky Warns

Leo Pasvolsky, more than many other men a prime instigator of the UN, testified before the Senate during its consideration of the UN Charter: This collective action is the heart of the United Nations and if this assumption should turn out to be unjustified, and if the great powers who have cooperated in the Second World War should fall out with each other, then the United Nations has no possibility of functioning, the basic assumption has been drawn away and the United Nations must collapse and fall to pieces.

We know what happened. It took less than a year for the great powers to fall out with each other. Instead of heeding the advice of Leo Pasvolsky and scrapping the UN at that point, the United States itself took a position the unhappy consequences of which we are beginning to perceive. It shifted the main center of authority in the United Nations from the Security Council to the General

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Assembly. Because there is no veto in the General Assembly, a version of majority rule prevails there. In that body, the great powers are few among many lesser ones. Today, most of these smaller countries are former colonies; Afro-Asian powers who in effect form something like a bloc.

At the time we helped transfer the UN's effective power from the Security Council, we talked a great deal about the moral force residing in the resolutions of the General Assembly. No country (we said) could be legally bound by the Assembly's resolutions, but all should be *honor* bound to carry them out. What we established thereby was a kind of majority rule of the UN over the policies of its various members. We did our best to depict UN votes as the expression of a so-called world opinion, asserting at the same time that world opinion was endowed with a moral authority to which we considered ourselves and others beholden. The underlying fallacy here is that there is no such thing as world opinion; nor could the UN express it, if it existed.

Public opinion does exist, but only as individuals focus their judgment on particular institutions, laws, leaders, or issues connected with common existence; there is always a specific focal point. What generally passes for public opinion is usually generated by the press or another "opinion-forming" medium (this very term we all employ—"opinion-forming"—indicates the truth of the matter). We can even observe patterns of opinion emerge and alter on the impetus of the press' persuasion.

Non-Representational

Occasionally, very occasionally, something like a wave of common opinion may be seen to transcend national boundaries. But this never has any lasting significance. No recrudescence of it is ever manifested in legislation because there is no such thing as an international legislative body. The vote in the UN is quite remote from any such thing, for most delegations are not instructed from home. It is not widely known, but most foreign offices have only one United Nations specialist. Few nations can afford more than one. When the General Assembly convenes the one specialist goes to New York, he sits there, and there is nobody at home to back him up. Whatever vote is taken is very apt to reflect this man's personal opinion, not the policy of his government, much less anything like the opinions of individuals in his country. The delegate may react in a purely emotional or subjective way to a fictitious or generalized issue. Little validity, we see, can be attached to the UN's votes, and no authority at all.

In Corridors & Over Canapés

To the extent the UN has shown any consistency in the voting, especially on cold war issues (Red China's seating, for instance, thus far), has not been the result of world opinion. It has resulted solely from persuasion by United States delegations. At United Nations sessions members of our delegation swarm out before any important vote; each man buttonholes his delegate and pulls him over into a corner. If this method is obviously not going to work, then a strongly worded telegram to various capitals, especially in Latin America, will probably turn the trick. In this way, and in this way only, have we been able to obtain consistent pro-

Western votes on cold war issues. Anyone who believes the United Nations is an alternative to power politics, that it embodies some new kind of politics, need only look into the corridors of its headquarters to know otherwise.

Another matter concerning the UN ought to be considered here; the quasi-religious ideology of its apologists.

Comte, when he attacked the religion of the worship of the supernatural, had to create a new religion in which the worship of something immanent took the place of the worship of a transcendent God. This became the worship of Humanity and the ethic of "altruism." This religion and its ethic have become integral to the Liberal make-up. One recalls a figure like Mrs. Roosevelt who, in her way, was very sincere. Her kind of do-goodism, this worship of Humanity, the dedication to the cause of internationalism: there is the new ethic. Doubtless, such a person is sincerely motivated in his altruism, he wants to do the good, the right thing, but his desire is instructed by a false, immanentist religion. The focus of worship among the modern secularists is on Humanity, their hope is in the equalization and increasing similarity of all nations, the "abolition" of war, the international cooperation. The ethic of internationalism has become a full-fledged substitute for Christian ethics, it is associated with the "progressive," as contrasted to the "retrograde." This is why, when we hear talk of patriotism, the adjective so often attached to it is "old-fashioned." If it is old-fashioned, it must be, by implication, something destined to disappear; it is something that ought to disappear.

Problems Perpetuated

The United Nations is a perpetual conference. (A point must be made here. Is it not curious that we always speak of the UN in the singular? It is not "the UN is." It is, the United Nations are.). There is no such thing as the UN because the UN is not an entity, the UN is United Nations. They convene regularly, whether or not there is need for a conference. Formerly, there were conferences when there was a need, and after considerable preparation. Now the nations convene, and if there is no issue at hand, they will proceed to create one. In this sense, the United Nations fail not only as the solution to international difficulties; they create them.

If the problems the UN often create were restricted to the General Assembly Hall, the organization might be relatively harmless. Unhappily, that is not the way of it. A case in point: the Congo. Armed force in that instance was at the disposal, not even of an assembly of nations, but of an international bureaucracy. By the nature of the UN's structure, their bureaucracy receives its authorization from an agreement reached in the General Assembly. The majority that told the Secretary General to go ahead and do something may disappear at any time. There is

(Continued on p. 332)

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A Landside View

To win the election, says the author, Sen. Goldwater must project himself as a national, rather than a sectarian or regional, leader. Can he pull it off?

JAMES BURNHAM

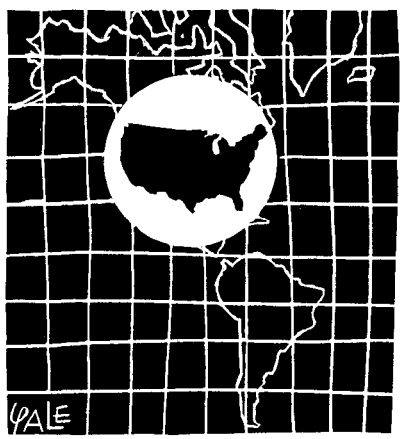
Sasabe, Arizona

Everyone has seen, in a Sunday newspaper or child's playbook, those puzzles that consist of a rectangular outline enclosing 50 or 100 numbered dots scattered in what seems a meaningless confusion. When, following instructions, you start drawing with your pencil from dot #1 to #2, #3 and so on in sequence, there miraculously emerges a picture of Christmas at Grandpa's, the Old Barn Yard, or an Afternoon at the Circus. Our country as known through jet planes becomes abstracted into one of those rectangles as it appears before the line is penciled in. The unpatterned dots are the big cities with jet ports. Between them is the unfeatured meaninglessness of the empty flight at 40,000 feet.

For pencil you've got to take the train—if there is still passenger service between this dot and the next—or more usually, nowadays, a car—preferably avoiding, however, the turnpikes and interstate highways that stretch through a kind of anonymous *n*th dimension. A long trek by train or car at least reminds you that between dots there is human stuffing: that there are lots of people doing lots of things in lots of ways in lots of places.

It is not to be expected that you will make any remarkable fresh discovery. It will be as the x^2 millionth traveler, not as a daring pioneer, that you will see the rampart of the Rockies rise suddenly out of the endless plain; but you will *see* it. To *see* the steel mills at Gary, to see them in their visible relation to the scores of railroad tracks, the docks of Lake Michigan, the factories and towers of Chicago, is quite different from reading about them. That odd installation over there across the desert *is* an ICBM launching site, not a description of one. This is the booming town that has tripled in area, quadrupled in population, octupled in wealth since war's end.

No one has failed to report how big our country is, but to feel its bigness you have to see it in a space-time relationship more nearly human than jet speeds permit. Big, and still, in spite of all standardization and centralization, much varied. The variations are of many sorts: geographical, in striking degree—among mountains, plains and seacoast, desert and rainforest, almost tropical to wholly arctic; economic—wastelands or playgrounds, farms or factories, mines or forests; demographic—ranging from the massed city to those incredible open spaces; ethnic, racial, religious. In this southern state there are legions of Negroes, but none to be seen for days in that mountain or prairie region. Two out of three churches in that big city are Catholic; all in these dozen Minnesota counties are Lutheran; nearly all along this mid-southern border are Evangelical. Americans who have not been in the Southwest seldom realize that speech



here is bilingual—by law, indeed, in New Mexico—and the culture compounded of three sharply distinct elements: Anglo - Saxon - American, Spanish-Mexican, and Indian.

Correlated with these diversities are the conflicts, potential and present, of interest and opinion. In many states of all regions the eternal urban-rural conflict takes a familiar form: the big city (Denver, Chicago, Minneapolis . . .) Democratic and Liberal in politics; the hinterland Republican and conservative. On the wide national scale, both the differences and the conflicts among the major geographical regions continue to be a charged factor in American society, as they have been from the beginning. It is really true that "people are different" in the West, as in the South and the Southwest—and the East, too, depending on what direction your eye is looking from. You can see it, hear it, feel it right away. People look, dress, act, do business, talk, play differently—sometimes very differently. And most of the clichés are true: "In the West people are friendlier"; "Southerners are the most polite;" and so on. In the West and Southwest (I mean to exclude California) the way of life is at once more traditional and more ruthlessly modern than in the East—the Spanish mission church alongside the interstate highway, the air-conditioned Cadillac parked by the flagstaff, the courteous forms along with the extreme personal equalitarianism.

The mixture seems to combine something of a pioneer with a science fiction atmosphere.

The half-formed but growing conflict is real, I think, between the West-South-Southwest and the East (that is, the Northeast plus what are usually called "the Middle Atlantic states"). Its content is suggested in the visible differences and rooted in geographical, economic and fiscal fact. The non-Easterners do not know exactly what they want to do with themselves and the country and the world, but they don't put much trust in the ability of the Easterners to do it, whatever it is. The Easterners have

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been running the country a long time, in their own way, and with their own ideas—drawn of late from their teeming mongrel cities and cosmopolitanized universities—that they try to impose everywhere. The outlanders, their regional bases filling now with the bodies, machines and new wealth that are the stuff of power, feel ready to take their turn. The program is obscure, confused; but they want *our kind of people* on top. This was the feeling that last year fueled the Barry Goldwater boom, and got verbalized in the "Southern (and Western) strategy" that was going to carry him to the White House. This same feeling is now being shrewdly exploited by Lyndon Johnson, who—while keeping the Eastern program *intact*—is replacing some of the conspicuous Easterners with our kind of people; and who himself wears the unmistakable badges of the hinterland.

The Regional Image

Among Republicans of the West and Southwest (where I have been the past few weeks) Goldwater is far and away the favorite son. Neither the assassination nor the New Hampshire primary made a noticeable dent in this regional sentiment. There are a good many who also like Nixon well enough, though not so warmly as one of our own; but no one wants Rockefeller, and the rest—Lodge, Scranton, Romney—are blanks. Nearly all Republicans are for Goldwater, but there are those here, even among Republicans, who are not so certain he is the man to be President.

Goldwater could be senator from Arizona until he steps into the grave. He might have a fight to get Arizona's electoral votes away from LBJ, and the fight would be very tough to get Colorado's, Minnesota's, Illinois'; those of Texas he would almost surely lose.

Our national domain is so big, so complex and varied, so charged with conflicts and clashes, and only a perennial miracle has enabled it to be governed as one nation. Is the new West-South really ready now, not merely in wish but in power and ability, to administer the miracle, to supplant "Wall Street"? The proof has not yet been given. And if not, a man from the West or South can only govern, like Johnson or Harry Truman, as satrap for the East.

Goldwater has not yet succeeded in establishing himself in the public mind as a *national leader;* therefore he has not, in strictly political language, yet made good a *claim* to the Presidency. He still figures, in the

public mind, as a sectional leader and as an ideological leader or leader of a tendency (the conservative leader). Here in the Southwest, and to some degree elsewhere in the South and West, everyone likes and admires him and looks on him as a legitimate leader. Throughout the country, all conservatives like and admire him and recognize him as a legitimate leader. But he has not yet been able to project himself much beyond this geographical-ideological limit. In his campaign for the nomination he easily reaches those who are predisposed in his favor, and often rouses them to active, enthusiastic support; but he has not opened up communications with the large amorphous center that is not strongly committed one way or the other. I have not talked to a single voter—West, North, South *or* East—who has said: "Since Barry Goldwater started campaigning, I've changed my mind and now I'm for him."

. . . and the National

As senatorial candidate it is sufficient that Goldwater should be in the first instance an Arizonan or Southwestern leader. As a speaker, writer, public-spirited citizen, it is sufficient that he should be a leader of American conservatives. But if he is to be a successful challenger for the Presidency, he must convince the public—including those conservatives who are still not sure—that he can function as a national leader. And he must present his program not *to* conservatives nor as a program *for* conservatives nor as a program designed to uphold specifically conservative interests, but as the only program that can serve the primary interests of the one nation—that can safeguard its security, its freedom and its well-being.

How It Must Change

This has not been accomplished by the Goldwater campaign to date. Granted the present state of public opinion and the communications media, the task may well be impossible, but even under easier circumstances this sort of campaign couldn't have done it. The campaign has been too banal, routine, scattered and provincial to meet the special kind of challenge confronted in 1964 by a conservative candidate. The makeup of the staff is an eloquent symbol: the high percentage of home-state cronies, emphasizing the sectional rather than the national. Surely New Hampshire proved that it is pointless for Goldwater to waste 95 per cent of his time shaking a few hands at kaffee klatches and answering undirected questions at high school auditoriums. Why hasn't Goldwater visited at least Western Europe in this period? There is a real point in the notion that part of the campaigning for the American Presidency these days must be done in foreign countries. The foreign background is almost indispensable in transforming the image of the provincial politician into that of the national leader. Four solid speeches on world affairs delivered in as many European cities, with the world press inevitably featuring them. . . .

The really decisive issues are: the suicidal retreat of the West; the disintegration of NATO; the Negro revolt; the rising national mood of appeasement and capitulation; the threat to the dollar; the meaning of creeping socialization. The justification for the Goldwater candidacy is the thesis that *prevailing beliefs about the great issues are fundamentally mistaken.* Unless the nation becomes convinced that they *are* mistaken, it will not, and, logically, should not, choose an outsider as chief magistrate. If the prevailing beliefs are correct, then the only sensible choice is among me-tooers.

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Principles and Heresies

When the Chips Are Down

FRANK S. MEYER

To read the judicious takers of the American pulse who pontificate upon the progress of the Republican pre-convention campaign, the last thing you would think is that the Republican nomination goes to the candidate who gets the votes of 655 delegates. As a matter of fact, this is the first campaign I can remember in which the dopesters and the pollsters and the commentators have failed to give us projection after projection of the estimated delegate strength of the candidates.

Meyer

Instead the press and the air waves are saturated with general discussions of the state of mind of the mass electorate (which by and large has little influence on the selection of 90 per cent of the delegates), with abstruse speculation on the duty and necessity of "moderation" in American politics, with sad head-shaking on the "lack of interest" of the man in the street. This—and interminable analyses of Goldwater's weaknesses—drummed insistence that Goldwater is losing strength here, losing strength everywhere. If Goldwater had indeed been losing strength, and at the rate we are told, he would some time ago have joined the walking dead along with Rockefeller.

Actually, any detailed state-by-state analysis of delegate strength shows Goldwater not only the leading candidate, but overwhelmingly the leading candidate. I am not saying the nomination is in the bag. The outcome depends upon the energies exerted between now and July. But I am saying that he is ahead and that with proper effort the odds are with him. Even without California, and without the probable pro-Goldwater favorite-son slates from Wisconsin and Colorado, with an absolute minimum estimate of Goldwater inroads in states like New York, New Jersey, and Michigan, it is difficult, no matter how cautious one's outlook, to arrive at a total of less than 500 presently held Goldwater delegates.

Should Goldwater carry California, its 86 votes would bring him so close to the 655 majority that his reserves, in friendly favorite-son states and among Goldwater sympathizers in other uncommitted delegations, would almost certainly put him over on the first ballot. A victory in California would seem at this writing to be tantamount to victory at the convention. If California should be lost, the outlook would be much less favorable; but Goldwater would be far from defeated. A candidate with 500 votes, and up to another hundred leaning towards him, remains the most likely choice of the convention, particularly when he faces a motley field of rivals, no one of whom has been able to assemble a substantial total of delegates or to seize the imagination of Republican activists.

Both of these, Goldwater has done. His delegate strength I have discussed. And, despite many errors and weaknesses in the earlier stage of the campaign and despite all the prophets of doom, there has been no tangible undermining of his position of Republican leadership. A Gallup poll of Republican County Chairmen the country over, taken *after* the New Hampshire primary, gives Goldwater 878 votes; Nixon, 383; and Lodge, Scranton, Rockefeller 244, 164, 117 respectively.

It is indeed a motley crew; Nixon, the two-time loser, uncertain whether he is a conservative or a Liberal, a New Yorker or a Californian; Lodge, saddled with the Democratic Administration's mess in Vietnam and with every active Republican's knowledge that by his acts of omission and commission he did more than anyone else in the party to defeat the 1960 ticket; Scranton, with a grand total of four years of political experience, an apparent lack of conviction on any political issue, and a personality pallid to the fading point; Rockefeller, his New York delegation crumbling behind him, master neither of his passions nor of his legislature, of whose political fortunes, in charity, the less said the better.

"You can't beat someone with no one." The very freneticism with which the Liberals are looking for "a warm body whose name is not Barry Goldwater" (as Stanton Evans put it) shows the trouble they are in. It is understandable why they are worried, why they are using every device to spread an aura of failure around Goldwater. With the immense emotional pressure the organs of mass communication exert, it is also understandable why some conservatives fail to see the wood for the trees and are affected by setbacks which are inevitable in any sustained campaign. The experience of thirty years of Liberal dominance has created an inordinate fear of Liberal power plays. The political realities of 1964 belie this fear.

The Goldwater movement today is a new political phenomenon, one the Liberals have never faced before. This is not 1944 or 1952. There is no Willkie or Eisenhower behind whom they are organized to blitz to victory. In successive tries they have totally failed to build up any serious support for Romney or Scranton. Now in desperation they are falling back on tactics of confusion. There can be no other explanation of the immense public relations build-up of Lodge, a candidate who has no more chance of being actually nominated than Harold Stassen. The effort is obviously to blackmail the delegates to the Republican National Convention into a stop-Goldwater movement by a synthetic Lodge boom; to throw the convention into chaos; and, in the confusion, to ram down the convention's throat a "compromise candidate" or a dark horse—anybody but Goldwater.

It is a desperate maneuver, but it is not the solid well-planned operation of 1944 or 1952. The *solid* convention strength remains with Goldwater. As things stand now, it is the forces of the Liberal cabal, not of Goldwater, that are in disarray.

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

The Illusion of Indiscriminate Love

American Protestantism, they say, is reviving intellectually—in the divinity schools. But among students on the average campus, Protestant Christianity is no more intellectually respectable than it was in my own undergraduate days. (Our Christian activities consisted chiefly of singing "Clementine" and "I Ain't a-Gonna Grieve My Lawd No Mo' " at YMCA parties on Friday nights.) Indeed, it seems to have sunk into greater silliness since those dear dead days beyond recall—and certainly into worse sentimentality and error.

Kirk

As example, I have to hand a leaflet, published quarterly by the United Campus Christian Fellowship. It is called *Campus Encounter;* and the number to which I refer consists almost wholly of an essay called "Love without Fear: a Personal View of being Physical," reprinted from *Dialogue,* which magazine in turn is published by "the service area of the Cornell United Religious Work," at Cornell University. The author of this confused and impressionistic article is a young Mr. Robert C. Buckle, who once taught in a Nigerian village, but is now working and writing in Dallas.

Carapace of Conventions

Mr. Buckle's thesis, though difficult to glimpse through his summer-school-of-creative-writing prose, in essence is this: woe, woe, we're alone in this world, and something must be done about it. Onanism doesn't satisfy, and even the most thoroughgoing affair of young romance—"two very unselfconscious people, completely naked, touching each other and being glad for each other without questioning"—may be spoilt by slyness and tedium. *Vanitas vanitatum.* All this is executed with abundant erotic imagery. "Convention is left behind," comment the admiring editors of *Campus Encounter,* "if one finds meaning in the word." They and Mr. Buckle don't find meaning in the word: they're *avant-garde* religionists.

But don't be shocked, Mr. Buckle implores us: he's just trying to improve us out of our absurd and unsatisfactory human nature. He seeks a "totality of love," in which there would be no guilt, fear, dishonesty, and jealousy—in which everybody would love everybody else they wanted to love, physically. People would still marry, and they would be faithful, he hopes, but there would be no compulsions. Mr. Buckle is sufficiently candid:

> May I make it clear that I think these people would be free sexually in ways that are perhaps startling to us. Love would characterize their relationships with other people, and this love would not be some airy spiritual-intellectual phantasy that has nothing to do with flesh and blood; it would be a love of bodies in all their different aspects as well as a love of sensitivity and aspiration. It would be bisexual in that there would not be the kind of fear that keeps two men from embracing and showing affection in this society. And because of this freedom, desire as a destructive, jealousy-ridden force would disappear among these real people, thus there would not be licentiousness. The hidden body, the restrained man, the memory of pleasure held in the tight fist of guilt cause desire and make it ugly and explosive. . . . For reasons I hope are now clear these people would not need to own their wives or husbands or friends; one would not need to affirm oneself by possessing someone else, for in this age of nakedness and freedom there would be much self-confidence, strong self-awareness, acceptance of oneself, and a realization that the talents and happiness and love relationships of others do not reduce the value of one's own.

Nice and neat and naked? "Everybody belongs to everybody else," as in *Brave New World,* only more so. The world is to become one vast nudist camp, in psychology, without shame, without privacy, without desire. Wouldn't you enjoy being without desire?

Lord Bertrand Russell—"all who in Russell's burly frame admire the lineaments of gratified desire," to quote my old friend Roy Campbell—could not have put this Utopian proposal more candidly, or more atheistically. Mr. Buckle wants self-confidence, self-awareness, acceptance of oneself; he does not mention the possibility of confidence in God, God-awareness, and acceptance of God. None of this airy spiritual-intellectual phantasy for Mr. Buckle. "No knots would be tied; no solemn rules enacted," Mr. Buckle cries happily. But something deep in human nature demands that knots be tied and solemn rules enacted: we wish to belong to someone else, formally, and to have someone else belong to us.

'Modern Gnostics'

Though sufficiently silly, Mr. Buckle's notions are not surprising—except that they are presented as Christian, in a nominally Christian publication meant for college students. If this is the best that "progressive" Protestantism can offer undergraduates—and this leaflet is being distributed on many campuses in tens of thousands—no wonder that the church is in disrepute. The campus cutups can have their weekend frolics without Mr. Buckle's sanction, and would look upon him as a boob—not without reason; while any students in search of first principles are unlikely to find much satisfaction in this tapioca-pudding notion of "being physical."

Mr. Buckle and his kind endeavor to make immanent the Christian symbols; they are what Dr. Eric Voegelin calls "modern Gnostics." "One doesn't know where to begin," complains Mr. Buckle, frustrated. True; but one knows where such disintegrated "Protestantism" as this will end: in the moral boneyard.

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The Will to Survive?

EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

This somber, brilliantly written book attempts to fix the blame for the suicidal "contraction of the West" over the last fifty years upon Liberalism, chiefly in the United States. Therefore, it is at the same time a venture into the philosophy of history and an indictment of those responsible for the present disastrous plight of once triumphant Western civilization.

By this venture Burnham joins that group of Western thinkers—Vico, Gibbon, Hegel, Spengler, Toynbee and most recently Ernest Cuneo (*Science and History*)—who have attempted to ascertain why once flourishing nations and civilizations gradually or suddenly begin to "contract." Only, in Burnham's case, the object studied is not the downfall of some remote society but of that West of which the United States is today the acknowledged if uncertain leader. Burnham believes that the cause lies in the minds of those Liberals who, particularly since opposition to Hitler gave them a focal point about which to rally, have shaped Western, and chiefly American, policies.

Suicide of the West is an attempt to show why this has been true, indeed, why it could not be otherwise in view of the nature of modern Liberalism. It is, in my judgment, a strikingly successful job.

Burnham is highly qualified for this task not, I suspect, because he is (or calls himself) a "conservative" (of which there are many kinds), but because he went to school to those Italian "realists," beginning with Machiavelli, who reason from man's conduct as it is—and not from what they would wish it to be.

Suicide of the West, by James Burnham. John Day, $5.95

The contraction of the West after 1914 is fact, not theory. It is apparent from the map and, I would add, from the ever increasing number of members of the United Nations. With territorial contraction has gone a startling contraction of Western influence. This began with the deliberate self-isolation of the Bolsheviks in 1917—and behind the Berlin Wall in 1961. It has never stopped.

> *The symbols are there to be seen by all who are willing to look: the Europeans fleeing by the hundreds of thousands from Morocco, Tunisia, Algeria; the British Viceroy's palace in Delhi taken over by the Brahman mass leader posing as a parliamentarian; . . . the mass rape of European women in Central Africa, the mass killing of European men, the mass feasts on dismembered bodies of European seminarists and airmen; . . . the Western warships abandoning Dakar, Bombay, Suez, Trincomalee; the many conferences and palavers from which the representatives of the West but not the Communists are excluded; the deliberate insolence to soldiers, diplomats and wandering citizens of the West.*

Considering that the West still remains so much stronger than its combined adversaries, how could this happen?

Ask rather how it could be otherwise, as the West gradually came under the control of people who not only do not oppose the shrinkage of the West but actually promote it—in short, of people who have "lost the will to survive." "This book is a set of variations on a single and underlying thesis: that what Americans call 'liberalism' is the ideology of Western suicide."

No doubt about the identity of these Liberals. (Burnham names about fifty and some of the many publications they control.) In Western society they constitute the entire "left" short of the Communists and the few remaining orthodox Marxists. They are the "welfare" people, the same in the American journal of opinion—the *New Republic*, the French *L'Express* or the English *New Statesman*.

Although they mostly decry religion and exalt reason, their outlook is a mixture of frozen "ideology" and emotion, impregnable both to argument and to concrete evidence. Thus, although they consider human and social imperfections the result of ignorance and bad social institutions (the individual is malleable and susceptible of improvement), they feel personal guilt for past racial discrimination and colonialism — and wish to make amends for both. Available evidence points to unequal performance by various groups, nations, and races. Yet Liberals sturdily maintain their essential equality—if given an "equal chance." They refuse to see that advancing education has not diminished vice and crime or indeed, to admit anything that does not fit the ideology.

BEING REFORMERS, they have one rule for Communists and a much harsher one for fascists. Since they wish to eliminate force from politics regardless of the fact that "in all human societies of any magnitude . . . force is an inevitable, therefore natural ingredient"—they believe they can substitute talk of peace and world law for policy based on power. In fact, in their scale of values, peace and group justice are above individual freedom and national liberty.

Inevitably, therefore, their basic allegiance is not to family, neighbor, group, or nation, but to mankind. And since their ideology does not admit that Western civilization is in any sense preferable to others, they view the contraction of the West with equanimity if not with actual

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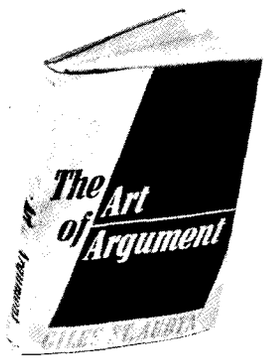

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favor. Theirs is the responsibility for our present plight.

Now the above summary does not do justice to the extent, rigor or subtlety of Burnham's arguments. In particular it skimps his efforts to be fair to his opponents, even to define Liberalism in a way satisfactory to "liberals of good will" to whom he dedicates the book. He sets out no less than three separate lists of the beliefs that make a Liberal—with entire objectivity. He does not impugn the Liberal's honesty or the purity of his intentions. He is satisfied to demonstrate that under the influence of the "Liberal syndrome," Liberals are edging the West toward suicide. Not only by their "welfare *über Alles*" attitude. Rather, in part, by their horror of force. (Burnham takes the permanence of force in human relations so much for granted that he mentions the new "Doomsday bomb" only once, in a footnote. The USSR, he notes drily, did not abate its expansionist policy at the time of American atomic monopoly.)

IN ADDITION, American Liberals do not recognize the essential solidarity of the West. "A Western loss, retreat or weakening anywhere in the world even if accompanied by an apparent strengthening of the United States relative to other component nations of the West, means a weakening of the basic position of the United States in relation to the world-strategic equilibrium." Yet given the choice of a Yalta strategy of accommodation with Russia, or a UN-Third World strategy aimed at the dispersal of power, or a frankly Western policy, Liberal American administrations have increasingly ignored the third, lest it "upset negotiations with Moscow."

> *The crime of liberalism is that it permits Western civilization to be reconciled to dissolution.*

The consequence of this Western "drift to dissolution" is that "the primary issue before Western civilization today, and before its member nations, is survival." For since the Communists are serious in their intentions, they will have to be stopped not "by getting educated by liberals," but by superior power and will. "Just possibly we shall not have to die in large numbers in order to stop them; but we shall certainly have to be willing to die."

This is indeed a somber prospect

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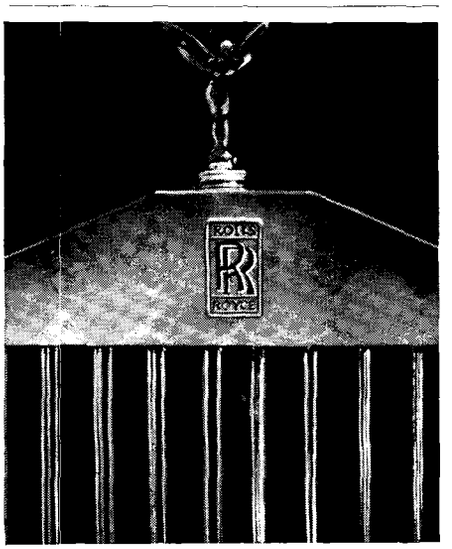

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convincingly depicted. So Burnham ends on a happier note: our final collapse is not inevitable provided "the contraction of the last fifty years should cease or be reversed." Whether or not it will be reversed, in the opinion of the reviewer, depends upon the number of Westerners, chiefly Americans, who, sick at heart over our long and unnecessary retreats, pull themselves together and bring about a change. To desire this change it is not necessary to accept all of Burnham's "conservative" views—a few Liberals hotly demand it. What is necessary is to rally all those who believe in Western civilization and are convinced that the United States, as the sole effective guardian of human freedom, must preserve and use its strength whenever and wherever necessary.

Suicide of the West could be such a rallying call.

House of Horrors

WILLIAM F. RICKENBACKER

THE BIG NEWS is that these two books, these two clinical analyses of federal complexity and elephantiasis, were written not by that kind of conservative in whom Professor Willmore Kendall descries a "near-neurosis about governmental power" —but by two men of the Establishment: Duscha, a former Nieman Fellow and for some time now a member of the national news staff of the *Washington Post;* and Stern, former campaign aide to Adlai Stevenson, legislative aide to Senator Paul Douglas, research director to the Democratic National Committee, and perennial contributor to the zombie press (*Harper's, Time Magazine, Reporter, New Republic, Progressive*).

Each goes after his target for all he's worth, Duscha tackling the Agriculture Department and Stern the federal income tax. The criticism each makes of his subject will be familiar to conservatives, because it is the conservatives who have always made the point *generically,* whether it's Tocqueville describing how a meddlesome administration puts the squeeze on individual liberty, or Mises and Hayek and Hazlitt asserting the inefficiency of governmental intervention in free markets, or Acton wedding corruption indissolubly to power. Neither Duscha nor Stern has been willing to make a general statement of that order; but let's give them some time. For one thing, if they read each other's book, they may be struck with the similarity of their findings.

► *Does governmental intervention require ever more minute regulation, flowering in a mass of law whose complexity escapes the average man?* Stern: "After weeks of labor, Ways and Means ultimately gives birth to the bill, for the cursory consideration of the House—cursory in part because of the 'closed' or 'gag' rule forbidding 'outsiders' to offer amendments during House debate; cursory, too, because, as Louis Eisenstein has observed, 'a vote on a tax bill . . . is an act of faith.' So arcane is the field of taxation, so obscure the language in which tax laws are couched that few members of Congress comprehend what is in them." And Duscha: "Over the last thirty years farm programs have become so complicated and so overlaid with mystifying jargon of their own that on Capitol Hill few Senators and Representatives other than the members of the Agriculture Committee even pretend to understand the details of agricultural legislation. Even many members of the committees do not understand the details of the programs, but they know their dollar-and-cent values to farmers."

► *Does a concentration of power lead to abuses, to preferential administration?* Duscha subtitles his book, "The Farm Problem from the New Deal to the Billie Sol Estes Case," and his interweaving of the gaudy Estes thread makes the point dramatically. Stern devotes a chapter to the story of several pieces of tax law that *look* as if they're general law but are really tailored for one man or company: "What casual observer, for example, would be able to spot a bill innocuously entitled, 'A Bill to amend Part III of Subchapter O of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954' as being a bill to provide substantial retroactive tax relief to the Hilton Hotel chain?"

► *Does governmental intervention defeat itself?* Duscha: "If there had been no cotton price support legislation during the last thirty years practically all the nation's cotton production would probably have moved to the highly efficient irrigated acres of the West. . . . In the absence of subsidies, many more cotton farmers in the Southeast undoubtedly would have left the farm for the city. Those who remained would have turned more quickly to the mass production of chickens and the raising of cattle, operations that are belatedly changing the face of agriculture in the Southeast and bringing a better life to more Southern farmers than cotton ever did." Stern: "And so it goes, with each tax concession containing the seeds of still others, in a process that is strikingly unidirectional." The whole burden of Stern's book is that if the tax law ceased to strive for "justice" by making myriads of special exemptions and deductions, a much greater justice might be attained through simplicity of the law, uniform application of it, and an enormous cut in the tax rates.

► *Does reform become more difficult the longer we wait, because interests tend to vest in the governmentally induced distortions?* Duscha gives several brilliant pages to a discussion of the many commercial and political interests (not to mention the 100,000 employees of the Agriculture Department) that have latched onto the federal intervention game; Billie Sol was

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Taxpayers' Hayride, by Julius Duscha. Little, Brown, $6.00

The Great Treasury Raid, by Philip M. Stern. Random House, $5.95

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not alone. Stern devotes a chapter to "The Heavy Odds Against Reform" —odds weighted by almost every aspect, from the political (one senator, admitting that tax favors reaped rich rewards in campaign contributions, is quoted as saying, "Hell, I wish we had a tax bill up here every year") to the strictly personal ("the average American," says one member of Ways and Means, "doesn't mind other people having 'loopholes'—he only cares about getting his").

It is always the same story. What Tocqueville called "centralized administration" always tends to become incomprehensibly complex; arbitrary, preferential, and corrupt; inefficient if not self-defeating (Washington subsidizes tobacco even while publicizing its dangers); and self-perpetuating.

As a history and critique of the agriculture program, and as a piece of clean hale writing, Duscha's book can be recommended without qualification. Stern, despite his effort to describe and analyze, remains somewhat the partisan, and his book is terribly marred by false comparisons, dishonest statistics, and barbaric language ("substraction" . . . "underpayed" . . . "one of the only Senate committees that denies").

But we owe gratitude to each of them for going into a house of horrors and coming back with a hair from the beard of the false prophet. Oh yes, I ought to explain the title of this review. Wilbur Mills, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, refers to our tax code as "the house of horrors." He should know. He was the architect.

As Old as Man Himself

ROBERT DRAKE

In *William Faulkner: The Yoknapatawpha Country*, Cleanth Brooks, now Gray Professor of Rhetoric at Yale, gives us, after long years of study and reflection, the first thoroughgoing critical examination Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha novels have ever received from one who can speak from intimate but dispassionate knowledge of their milieu; and the resulting volume, complete with notes often as valuable as the text and with a helpful index of Faulkner characters and genealogical charts of some of their more complicated relationships, is not only a milestone in Faulkner studies but a triumph to crown all others in Mr. Brooks' long history of distinguished achievement.

In his first chapter, "Faulkner the Provincial," he sets about laying the two principal ghosts—and there have been some several—which have heretofore haunted Faulkner criticism: the ghost of *sociologizing* and the ghost of *symbol-mongering*. True to the best precepts of the New Criticism, he sees "the central critical task" as an obligation "to determine and evaluate the meaning of the work in the fullness of its depth and amplitude." But the New Criticism has never contended that works of art exist in a vacuum, and such examinations of the novels' themes and structures must be made with "some knowledge of how life is actually lived and has been lived in Mississippi."

Faulkner: *"dramatized . . . the South's grand and tragic history."*

Mr. Brooks' insistence on both personal and cultural complexity produces a fine interpretation of *The Hamlet*, which is seen as a kind of savage pastoral and deliberate "mythification," with Eula Varner as the incarnation of the "feminine principle" and, at the other pole, Flem Snopes "whose acquisitiveness is a chemically pure essence." (The second and third volumes of the Snopes

William Faulkner: The Yoknapatawpha Country, by Cleanth Brooks. Yale, $8.50

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trilogy, *The Town* and *The Mansion*, are realistic and not mythical and, urges Mr. Brooks, must be read and judged as such.) Personal and cultural complexities are further studied to good purpose in the characters of Isaac McCaslin and Gavin Stevens, too often assumed to be Faulkner's mouthpieces. (Mr. Brooks more than once implies that there are no such privileged spokesmen in the novels: the views of such characters, too often pounced on "to damn the culture [they] dislike" by the Shrevelin McCannon critics, do not necessarily reflect those of the management. Mr. Brooks seems to imply—and this is consonant with his whole critical stance—that all and none of Faulkner's characters speak for him.)

It is appropriate that the novel which Mr. Brooks thinks the greatest of all Faulkner's works, *Absalom, Absalom!*, should receive the most brilliant discussion in this book. Mr. Brooks is reluctant to see the fall of the House of Sutpen related in this novel as being any more emblematic of the fall of aristocratic Southern society than the fall of the House of Compson in *The Sound and the Fury*, or the disintegration of young Bayard in *Sartoris*, which Mr. Brooks reads as a sort of Southern counterpart of *The Wasteland*. What ails Thomas Sutpen is not necessarily a Southern malady but one as old as man himself and one which Mr. Brooks sees as also peculiarly modern: an "innocence" of the facts of life and the world which leads him to believe that he can impose a rational design (Sutpen's word) upon the contrary substance of human experience and, in failing, to believe that he simply must have "left out" something as one might have in concocting a recipe—simply made a mistake.

I believe Mr. Brooks would agree with me that the late Richard M. Weaver's comments on modern man's three impieties (towards the past, towards nature, and towards other men) might profitably be applied to *Absalom, Absalom!*'s theme —as well they might to the whole Yoknapatawpha cycle. Weaver's observations are extremely pertinent to Faulkner's implicit views on sexual relationships as read by Mr. Brooks. (They appear to be old-fashioned and "romantic" by modern standards: Faulkner really does think men and women differ in more than biology.) And certainly Weaver would approve Faulkner's implied conception of man's right relationship to nature, which I read as one of stewardship. It is significant here, I think, that, as Mr. Brooks observes, some of Faulkner's biggest villains (Popeye, Flem Snopes, and Thomas Sutpen) appear to have strongly antipathetic or utilitarian attitudes towards both women and nature.

Throughout Mr. Brooks' study it is, finally, implicit that for *Yoknapatawpha* and *Mississippi* we should read *the world*. Faulkner's Yoknapatawpha and Mississippi, because of a "culture lag" (in this case, the preservation of a traditional society with widely held common assumptions about the nature of man, his world, and his God—this last, a strongly Puritan one), gives us the world in more powerful and undiluted form than "the great world cities of the twentieth century"; they are therefore at once both provincial and universal. This is the real and noble achievement of the man who in these novels dramatized nearly every phase of the South's grand and tragic history.

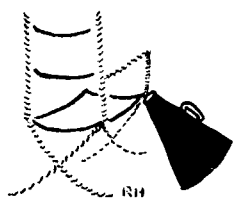
Movies

Out of Focus

J. DANIEL MAHONEY

"A LOVE LETTER to Miss Liberty and the Bill of Rights," purred Jimmy Wechsler of the *New York Post*. Brendan Gill of the *New Yorker* called it "a precious document of American history." "The greatest sustained drama . . . ever put on display," exulted Alton Cook of the *World Telegram*, leaving this reviewer wondering whether cultural literacy is a job requirement for *World Telegram* critics.

They were all talking about *Point of Order!*, a 97-minute filmed synopsis of the Army-McCarthy hearings of 1954. It may not accomplish much else, but this movie has certainly given some of Manhattan's more tired critics a new lease on life. Not since Richard Rovere brewed up a heady potion of spleen in his posthumous "biography," *Senator Joe McCarthy*, has there been such fun. As witness:



Judith Crist of the *Herald Tribune*, cooing over "this dramatic revelation of the face of demagoguery and of its collapse," gasping at the Senate caucus room where Senator McCarthy "issued his ultimate defiance of democracy."

Bosley Crowther of the *New York Times*, licking his chops over "the desperate nature of McCarthyism, the name given to the Senator's system and technique of allegedly uncovering Communists that the hearings so amazingly exposed."

And then there is *Time*, with its own special technique: "As for McCarthy, he just sits there with a strange and frightening look on his face: a smile that is somehow vicious, a grin like the grin of a wounded and desperate hyena. The look is the look of a very sick man. . . ."

This "great drama" is culled from the hearings at which a subcommittee of the United States Senate made a solemn inquiry into the Army career of G. David Schine, private first class. "McCarthy and his staff sought special privileges for Schine," the Army charged. "Fiddlesticks," McCarthy retorted, "you're trying to blackmail us into calling off our investigation of subversion in the Army." And off they went, for 188 hours of inconclusive hearings, every last minute televised to a nationwide audience. Now, almost ten years later, along come two bright lads named Daniel Talbot and Emile de Antonio, co-producers of the movie, who propose (as they put the matter in a publicity handout describing their handiwork) "to show—with all fairness—that the land was haunted terribly by a spectre, to serve as a warning to all demagogues of the future."

Once you understand what the boys have in mind, it's easy to follow the action. It begins with a statement of the charges and counter-charges. McCarthy wins a preliminary round (a demonstration that the Army had prepared some charts, comparing

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Schine's "leave time" with that accorded the average Army trainee, in a manner likely to mislead the television audience). After that, it's "On, Brave Old Army Team."

We see Joseph Welch of Boston, the Army's lawyer, tripping up McCarthy on an application for an Army commission for Schine which McCarthy signed and forgot; Welch in holy anger over a "shamefully cut down" photograph of Schine and Army Secretary Stevens; McCarthy baiting Welch with the background (membership in the National Lawyers' Guild) of a young associate in Welch's law firm, followed by Welch: "Let us not assassinate this lad further, Senator. You've done enough. Have you no sense of decency, Sir, at long last?" And finally, there is McCarthy in hot conflict with his colleagues, John McClellan and "sanctimonious Stu" Symington.

Or as de Antonio and Talbot put the matter, ". . . we thought of the hearings as a kind of Western morality play—a takeoff on *Shane,* with McCarthy playing Jack Palance and Welch playing Alan Ladd." They have been true to this exalted artistic conception. Of course, they had a lot to work with. McCarthy is not a hard man to tag with recklessness, and the quality of his staff was spotty. Pfc. G. David Schine, who called a press conference to announce his arrival in Washington as a Senate committee staff member, was a particularly unfortunate acquisition.

But no sane man could take seriously an inquiry, on so lavish a scale, into the affairs and ambitions of an Army private. Schine's whole importance lay in the opportunity he provided to discredit McCarthy—an opportunity seized, let us note, at the instigation and urging of a bi-partisan anti-McCarthy coalition embracing such strange bedfellows as Stuart Symington and Herbert Brownell. But when this fact, the only important one touched by these hearings, began to emerge, President Eisenhower pulled a curtain of "executive privilege" over the backstage bi-partisan maneuvering which prompted the hearings, whereupon the Special Investigations Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Government Operations dutifully resumed its inquiry whether G. David Schine, private first class, had complained about cold weather, and worn a fur hood, during his basic training.

These hearings were a decisive landmark in the McCarthy career. They concentrated the attention of the American public on the Schine trivia, and on McCarthy's vulnerabilities of style and performance. The Senator's main contention (that we are irrevocably at war with the international Communist movement, and that "there is no remote possibility of this war . . . ending except by victory or by death of this civilization") was simply swept under the rug. And a brave, pugnacious man was crushed in the process. There is the stuff of tragedy here. Perhaps somebody will produce a good movie on the subject, one day. Meanwhile, *Point of Order!* will serve as a new ejaculation in the litany of anti-McCarthyism.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

THE CONSERVATIVE AMERICAN, by Clarence Manion (Devin-Adair, $4.75). "What casts this lengthening shadow? . . . What are the ultimate dimensions of this big rumble on the right? Who is this Conservative American? What wound him up? What makes him tick and where does he think he is going?" Dean Manion sets these questions in his preface, and offers his book as the answer. Though he does not eschew the philosophical and legal arguments of the conservative position, he intends here to break through to the realm of politics. He is talking about voters, poll watchers, and professional "pols." I found the book most useful for the six or seven early chapters that give a detailed and clear account of American political history in this century: the history of the rise of Liberalism. Here's the story of how the Liberals broke in one night and stole the seals of the GOP; and here's an agenda for political conservatives who share Dean Manion's hope to restore justice and reason to American politics.

W. F. RICKENBACKER

CLAREMONT ESSAYS, by Diana Trilling (Harcourt, $4.75). "Trilling, Lionel," says the New York phone book, "35 Clrmnt Ave." Mr. Trilling's wife Diana has taken the name of this "little-known street in New York City," where she and her husband live, to title her new collection of previously published essays. (One has "a particular point of view," looking out from 35 Claremont Avenue.) They are dated—the earliest 1943. This "to account for political or cultural references that no longer apply"; there is nothing endurable anywhere. Certainly there is nothing endurable about these thirteen essays. A number of them have to do with sex (the subject everyone is talking about, according to a recent *New York Times* book ad), and there are vagrant pieces on such disparate figures as Caruso, Virginia Woolf, Alice James, and Marilyn Monroe. Of another kind of interest: an apologia for Dr. Oppenheimer, and "A Memorandum on the Hiss Case." In this last, Mrs. Trilling doesn't seem too disturbed about her own confessedly Liberal position when she writes of Hiss: ". . . he need only temper his passion, suppress his ultimate aims and stay with the immediate practical idealism—and he could both think like a Communist and act like a good servant of a liberal America." There is also an essay about Norman Mailer, if anyone wants to read an essay about him. The whole collection is dedicated "To Lionel." He accepts it readily, one is sure, and not simply to keep family harmony. If any couple would, surely he and Diana enjoy together the view from 35 Claremont Avenue.

G. M. PEPPER

THE NEW FACE OF SOVIET TOTALITARIANISM, by Adam B. Ulam (Harvard, $4.95). Ulam's theme is that Communist ideology has lost its appeal and that what we are dealing with is just another powerful industrial-military complex. His lack of all-out support of the theory of "convergence" of the USSR and the USA proves to be relatively meaningless, for if there is the possibility of ideological coexistence (which Khrushchev denies, in spite of the Ulam arguments), what is the big problem today?

W. D. JACOBS

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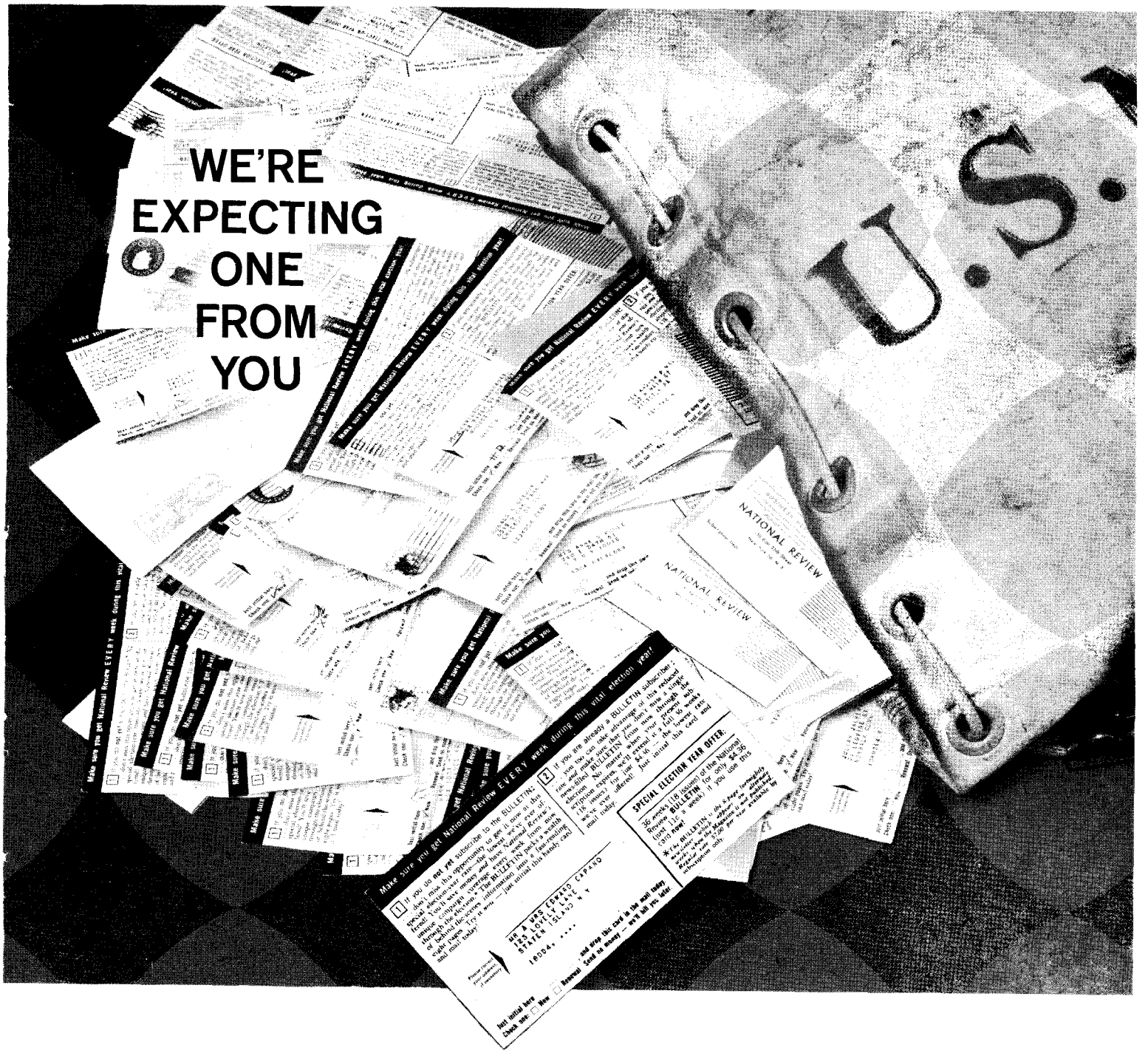
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To the Editor

Life Among the Libs

Re the wonderful article "Life Among the Libs" by courageous Susan Buck [Apr. 7]: I hope NATIONAL REVIEW will publish more such informative material about events happening right here in our midst instead of giving us so much about Kenya, Katanga, Timbucktoo and Zululand.

New York, N.Y. LUCILLE GONZALEZ

As a recent graduate of Hunter ('61), I feel compelled to defend the College against the black picture Miss Buck paints of the school's faculty. Although there is a very strong Liberal climate present in the College, it does not represent the whole school. Many of the instructors devote their time, not to politics, but to their professional obligations and to the academic improvement of their pupils.

ROSALIE COLETTA OKUROWSKI

Auburndale, Mass.

Would the Nervous Nellie who replaced my pungent but accurate description of a gentleman ("career fellow traveler") with the harmless phrase "intermittent front-joiner" please hereafter guard *my* interests half as well? I *must* protest what was placed beneath the title of my article. For anyone who has been drawn through a keyhole on these charges, the natural inclination is to wrap a lawsuit around the skull of the first person, friend or foe, to put it in cold print, even as an alleged joke, without making the meaning abundantly clear.

Forest Hills, N.Y. SUSAN BUCK

The introduction in question read, "Miss Buck, Ph. D., is introduced to Liberalism, an experience she did not survive because it transpires she Hates Jews, Negroes and Communists." NR sought a style congruent with Miss Buck's own (sample: "It might have been different, had I but realized they viewed seriously the Internal Menace of Subversion, namely me"), probably should not have tried anything so ambitious, doubts it has any reader so dull-witted as to take the introduction as imputing racism to Miss Buck, nevertheless apologizes to the lady, who has every right to be a nervous wreck, after what happened to her at Hunter.—ED

Goldwater in New Hampshire

Congratulations on a good comprehensive job of covering the New Hampshire primary in your issue of March 24. You avoided the fallacy that Lodge was a favorite-son choice and came up with some good suggestions such as a more adequate formulation of the social security and Cuba issues. Except for social security and the remark about sending the Marines into Cuba, I think Goldwater would have made it. I think that in the balance of the campaign he has got to make a complete explanation of the social security position or else forget it entirely. Otherwise, he leaves himself open to such misrepresentations as the *Concord Monitor* headline stating that Goldwater opposes social security, in banner type across the top of the front page.

Concord, N.H. PAUL A. RINDEN

Didion on Wapshot

Miss Joan Didion's review of *The Wapshot Scandal* [Mar. 24] was just chock-full of little tidbits to pique the interest. Imagine my surprise to find, there among great-Granny's orange spoons, this fascinating bit of Catholic theology: "the boundary between mortal and venial sin 'differs from parish to parish' "!

I was wondering—do you suppose Miss Didion would oblige further with a list of the names and locations of some of the more, uh, shall we say "liberal"? parishes she knows of? After all, once you've been enlightened (it's just a matter of zoning), you've nobody to blame but yourself if life is dull.

Brookfield, Conn. SARA E. MADDEN

Kenner on Eliot

In his moving review, "What Color is God?" [May 21, 1963], Garry Wills raised a standard for criticism difficult to achieve, but happily Hugh Kenner has done so [Feb. 11] in a manner befitting the literary excellence of the poet whom he praised so highly. It seems, indeed, that T. S. Eliot has been neglected by the multitude of "literary experts" who find Eliot's spirituality unconsonant with their own commitment to an amorphous relativism. Thus it is altogether fitting that a magazine, more or less—and inappropriately, thinks Max Eastman—seeking to further a spiritualistic (in the word's broadest sense) *Weltanschauung,* should publish Kenner's tribute to one of the century's greatest poets.

Kenner, in his review, analyzes and relates, in a prose which reflects the spirit of poetry, the masterly techniques and innermost meanings of Eliot's poetry.

Kingston, R. I. WILLIAM A. BARLETTA

NATIONAL REVIEW Magazine and Bulletin

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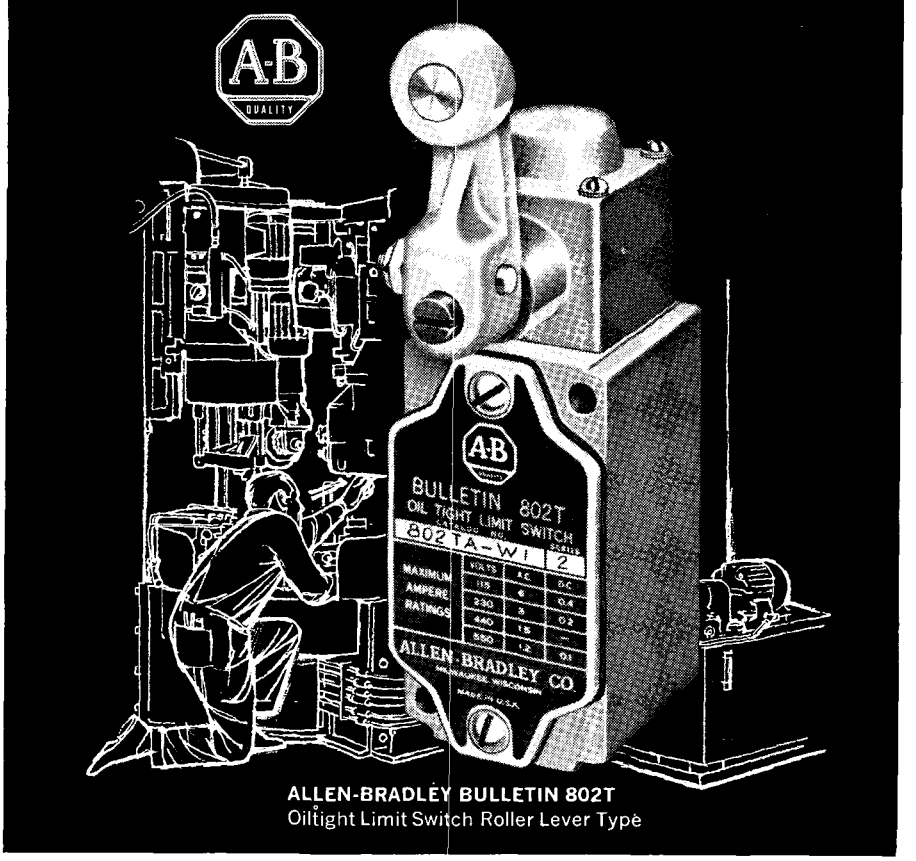

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Green and Pleasant Land

It was with horror and disbelief that I read Mr. Russell's film review in your February 25 issue. As well as being irrelevant, Mr. Russell is inaccurate. He claims that "most of England has become an uglier subdevelopment than anything this side of Los Angeles": as an Englishman, I can assure him that three-quarters of the English countryside is completely protected from any commercial or housing developments.

New York, N.Y. PIERS DUTTON

Stout-Hearted

The other night my husband and I were listening to a recording of Jeanette MacDonald and Nelson Eddy on our new stereo set. As Nelson Eddy sang "Stout-Hearted Men" the words impressed us by their striking description of the conservative movement and of Barry Goldwater as its leader.

What do you think the effect would be if "Stout-Hearted Men" were sung at conservative meetings in the North and South, in the East and West?

Sands Point, L.I. JUNE A. SQUIRES

Disastrous. —ED.

The New Learning

You have again pointed out a sad truth regarding today's education. The fill-in test on page 94 [Feb. 11] is certainly no joke. I attend a high school where students are encouraged to laugh at patriotism, conservatism, religion and even morality. Under the guise of courses bearing names quite innocent, we are subjected, I feel, to toxic overdoses of ultra-Liberal and "free" thought, excessively opinionated.

Cleveland Hts., Ohio LAWRENCE MILLER

The Oppenheimer Era

I have been sickened by the recent rejoicing over the supposed rehabilitation of Oppenheimer; by the abuse heaped upon men such as Senator Hickenlooper who objected; and by the renewed references to "the McCarthy era," although McCarthy had nothing at all to do with the Oppenheimer case.

Particularly, I have been displeased by implications that the scientific community stood and stands almost solidly behind Oppenheimer. By education I am only an engineer, and so do not belong to this elite group; but I will not agree that I am politically

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more stupid than they (for that would be stupid indeed).

Must all of our scientists be wisenheimers? Is it really impossible for old-fashioned real Americans to learn the complexities of modern science? I doubt it; and it is my suggestion that the leftish leanings of the present generation of scientists should be counterbalanced by our (*your*) encouraging the study of science among young people who will serve their country at all times with their knowledge—not merely when it suits them to do so.

Farmingdale, N.Y. EUGENE T. DOYLE

SOLUTION TO LAST ISSUE'S TRANS-O-GRAM (April 7)

Frederick Ungar
GOETHE'S WORLD VIEW

In youth, when we own nothing or at least do not appreciate quiet possession, we are democrats; but once we have come into property in the course of a long life, we not only desire to see it safeguarded—we seek to secure to our children and grandchildren the right to quiet enjoyment of what has been acquired.

YOUR ARCHITECT SHOULD KNOW BETTER!

Specify something inferior to mahogany for executive offices? Not on your life! Perhaps the fellow has been too busy to bone up on his homework. Maybe he fell into the habit of using substitutes when mahogany went to war. Perhaps he's forgotten the dependable days when prestige wood meant mahogany only and "genuine" was a word he could trust.

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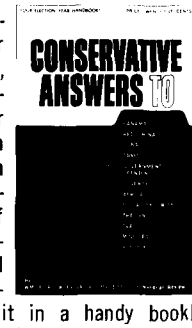

"Answers for Conservatives" is an election-year feature you'll talk about, quote from, and **recommend** to your friends over and over again between now and Election Day. In crisp, no-nonsense language, it gives you brief summaries of the conservative position on all the major campaign issues. We've reprinted it in a handy booklet format. The first printing is already almost sold out, so we urge you not to delay—order as many copies as you can now at these bargain rates:

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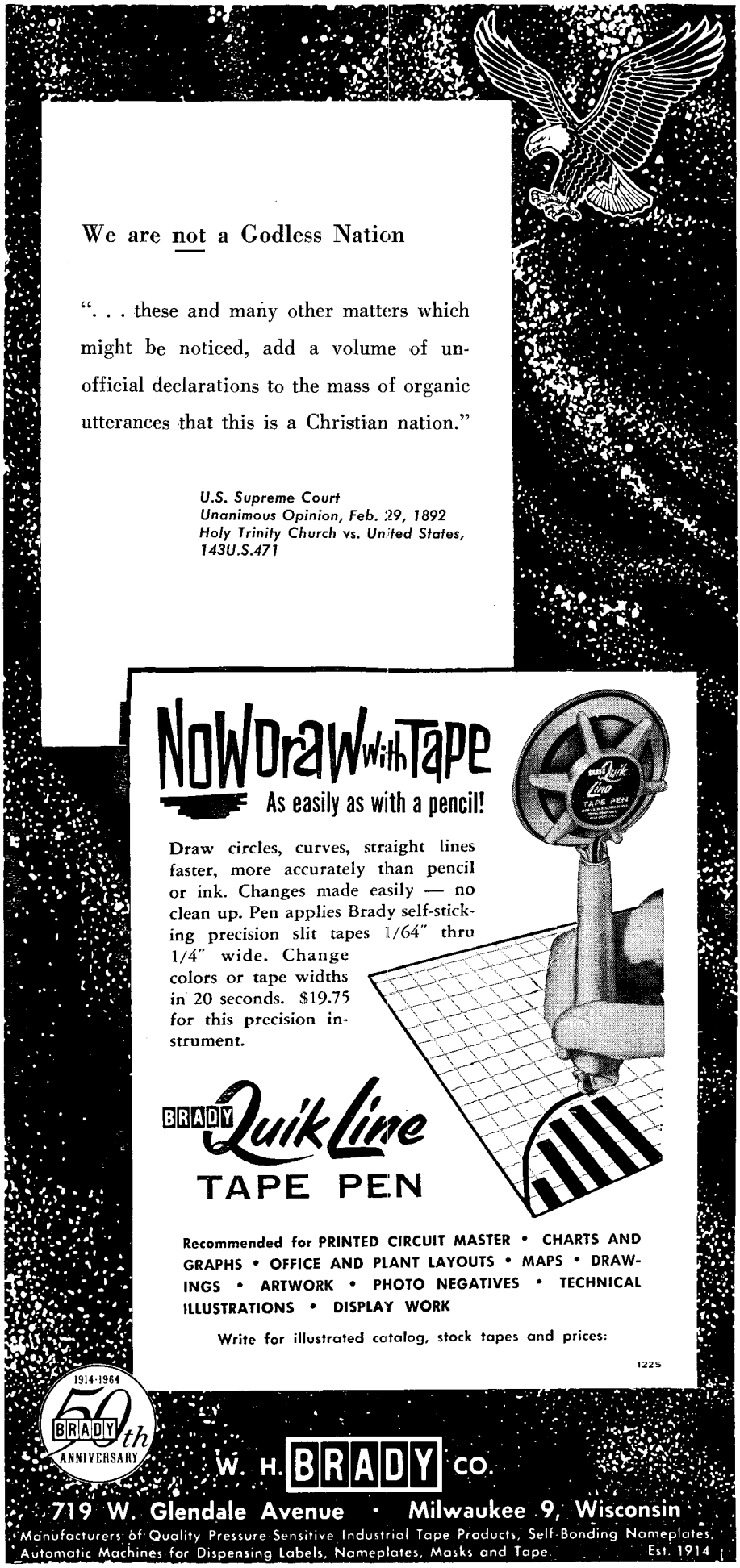
We are not a Godless Nation
". . . these and many other matters which might be noticed, add a volume of unofficial declarations to the mass of organic utterances that this is a Christian nation."
U.S. Supreme Court
Unanimous Opinion, Feb. 29, 1892
Holy Trinity Church vs. United States,
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(Continued from p. 316)

not the slightest guarantee that it will re-appear when it is time to stop the Secretary General. Thus the Secretary, who is not an official within a well-integrated system of public law and administration, operates in a kind of legal and political vacuum, which means that he is accountable only in the most superficial and meaningless manner. What is more: the UN bureaucracy itself is not sufficiently numerous and well organized to be able effectively to supervise the men it appoints to execute its actions in the field. Field commanders as well as the Secretary General are free-floating manipulators of peoples and events of the kind that no self-respecting nation would tolerate within its borders. Yet we have supported this kind of sublimated irresponsibility in the name of world order. We have even invented a kind of taxation system (the *ex post facto* UN bonds) which removes the purse-string limitations from the UN. Here are possibilities of really sinister developments. There is no conceivable end to the kind of operation the UN are conducting in the Congo. There is a conceivable end to a civil war, or to a revolution, or to disputes between hostile parts of a nation, but who, on the basis of what criteria, will decide when the United Nations have intervened long enough?

Who can say that the United Nations have completed their mission in the Congo? What was their mission? Was it a mission to set up a central government, or is the mission to make the central government omnipotent, or is its aim the establishment of socialism in the Congo? The mission is endless, once the UN are involved. Here, probably, one might speak of the United Nations in the singular, for it is the Secretariat that is operating, and it is operating as an entity.

But the Secretariat was meant to be a bookkeeping operation, an administrative operation to facilitate the Assembly's affairs. This Secretariat now has become an international authority, accountable to no elected agency or anything that signifies law and order.

The United Nations, so far as we support them, have become a major policy problem to the United States. We had better react to that problem with all determination.

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TRANS-O-GRAM

by Svend Petersen

DEFINITIONS	WORDS
A. Cornerstone of our liberties	10 172 188 190 207 54 65 97 108 120 143 220
B. Gov't body in New York City, Ala., Tenn.	30 27 35 41 44 47 59 79 71
C. Famous line from Kipling (3 wds.)	60 158 206 221 1 149 45 48 76 84 91 110
D. Full of pleasure	77 147 193 210 46 86 103 114 132 141
E. Fancy term for one worldism	83 205 9 14 19 169 174 49 57 98 189 222 3 28 37
F. What farmers will sue for if subsidies end	95 72 106 127 154 170 133 165 183 209
G. Double talk for breed of dog (2 wds.)	198 29 32 56 203 36 88 58
H. These caused a spell of trouble to boys of the old school (2 wds.)	200 82 112 118 167 182 218 128 145 157 177 180 2 25 34 43
I. An eruption	204 68 117 153 216 15 20 42
J. Absence of external restraint or compulsion	22 64 73 81 92 126 53
K. Important hearing aides	39 115 23 50 74 139 140 161 219 211 8 101 87
L. Pertaining to a certain disease primarily affecting the throat	99 105 148 162 164 166 184 202 208 13
M. Place in Egypt (1 of 2 spellings)	124 33 51 111 178
N. An astronomical almanac	130 90 125 135 191 223 104 109 131
O. Disturbers of peace of mind	138 134 146 160 176 192 214 52 93
P. Not the best place to see the show (2 wds.)	142 113 7 21 151 5 75 12 155 181 121 213 195
Q. To give or provide	185 55 62 94 122 6
R. Home of a mid-western university (city, & abbrev. state)	201 129 31 217 16 187 123 194 70
S. What Jackie brought back from Pakistan (2 wds.)	215 197 67 144 80 102 150 96 100
T. To extirpate	18 173 159 179 11 156
U. One way to return a book	38 24 107 196 78 69 89
V. Service headgear (2 wds.)	63 171 26 152 85 119 61 136 4 163 116
W. Nickname for American general (father of a general) (hyph.)	168 212 40 66 186 199 17 175 224 137

See page 331 for solution of last issue's Trans-o-Gram.

1 C	2 H		3 E	4 V	5 P	6 Q		7 P	8 K	9 E		10 A	11 T	12 P	13 L	14 E
15 I	16 R		17 W	18 T	19 E	20 I	21 P	22 J	23 K	24 U	25 H		26 V	27 B	28 E	29 G
	30 B	31 R	32 G	33 M	34 H		35 B	36 G	37 E		38 U	39 K	40 W	41 B	42 I	43 H
	44 B	45 C		46 D	47 B	48 C	49 E	50 K	51 M	52 O	53 J		54 A	55 Q		56 G
57 E		58 G	59 B	60 C	61 V		62 Q	63 V	64 J	65 A	66 W	67 S	68 I	69 U	70 R	71 B
	72 F	73 J	74 K	75 P	76 C	77 D	78 U		79 B	80 S	81 J		82 H	83 E	84 C	85 V
86 D	87 K		88 G	89 U		90 N	91 C	92 J	93 O	94 Q	95 F	96 S		97 A	98 E	99 L
100S	101K		102S	103D	104N		105L	106F	107U	108A	109N	110C	111M	112H	113P	114D
115K	116V		117I	118H	119V	120A	121P		122Q	123R	124M	125N	126J	127F		128H
129R	130N		131N	132D	133F	134O	135N	136V	137W		138O	139K		140K	141D	
142P	143A	144S		145H	146O	147D	148L	149C	150S	151P	152V		153I	154F	155P	
156T	157H	158C		159T	160O	161K	162L	163V		164L	165F		166L	167H	168W	169E
	170F	171V	172A	173T	174E	175W	176O	177H		178M	179T	180H	181P		182H	183F
184L	185Q	186W		187R	188A	189E		190A	191N	192O	193D	194R		195P	196U	197S
198G	199W		200H	201R	202L		203G	204I	205E	206C	207A	208L	209F	210D	211K	212W
213P	214O		215S	216I	217R	218H	219K	220A	221C	222E	223N	224W				

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill out the puzzle diagram by guessing the WORDS (above) from their DEFINITIONS, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled out, it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black squares indicating the end of a word); also, when the WORDS have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of Webster's New International Dictionary, Second Edition.

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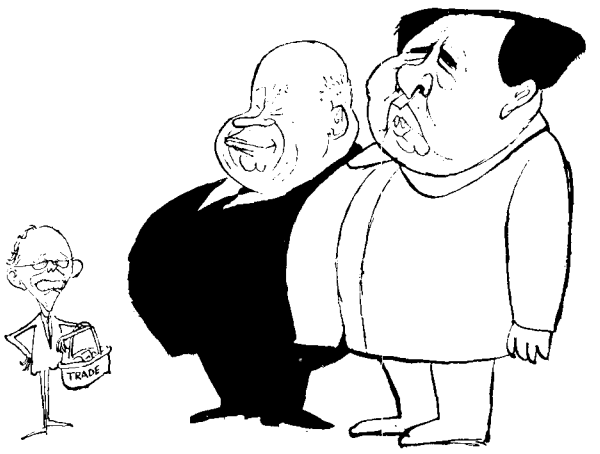
For The Record

Was the sensational conclusion of Thomas Buchanan's now famous series on Pres. Kennedy's assassination too hot for even L'Express? (Buchanan, twice identified under oath as a Communist, and who is now living in France, argued in L'Express that Oswald could not have done the job alone or without the connivance of members of the Dallas police.) His conclusion, according to insiders, is that the assassination was ordered by a prominent Texas oil man. Oswald's shot at Gen. Walker, according to this thesis, was just a cover-up.



Tanner—Ben Roth Agency

"A fat and comfortable Communist is likely to be less of a menace than a lean and hungry one."
—Sir Alec Douglas-Home

In frantic, to-the-tape drive to get validating signatures for Nelson Rockefeller in California primary, signature collection agency had to hoist its price per sig. from 30¢ to a buck. . . . Rumors that Wm. Scranton means what he says (he says he wants to get out of the draft) confirmed by notice to various networks that he is canceling scheduled interview shows. . . . Conn. Democrats doing everything but kicking in to GOP campaign kitty in their effort to get Connecticut Republicans to endorse Rockefeller. They feel he's the easiest man to beat.

Smoke poured from chimneys of both Cuban and Soviet embassies in Brazil a fortnight ago as diplomatic staffs burned compromising documents in preparation for possible break-off of diplomatic relations. . . . By the time the anti-Goulart revolution broke out, 28 Communists had been appointed to key posts in the Brazilian Government (one was Goulart's press secretary). . . . Castro's ambassador and 5 of his aides, taking no chances, took off abruptly for Havana even before President Goulart decamped. . . . Just before the late pleasantness in Brazil, former Pres. Kubitschek had settled on the keynote for his next presidential campaign: If elected President, he said, he would see to it that the "Alliance for Progress will wilt like a flower" (not a hard assignment).

Next New Frontiersman to hang up his shootin' iron (or war club) could be Soapy Williams. Williams' entourage has been outraged by recent Averell Harriman fact-finding mission to Africa which is officially Williams' bailiwick. Williams could well plan to return to Michigan to rebuild political machine for try at Senate in '68, when Sen. Pat McNamara, 70, will be deciding whether to run again. . . . Rep. Glenard Lipscomb (R., Cal.) credited with getting reversal of Commerce Dept. "economy" move to discontinue reports on U.S. exports to Communist nations. . . . There's a possibility HUAC may question Polish intelligence agent Goleniewski. Goleniewski, who reportedly has sizzling info on Communist infiltration of State Department and CIA, now is under subpena by Senate Internal Security Subcommittee but cannot be called to testify until after vote on civil rights bill—which could be a long time off, possibly not till mid-summer.

Sign recently noticed on public bulletin board in post office in Hadjout (formerly Marengo), Algeria: "Drivers are respectfully requested to abstain from modifying, on their own initiative, the numbers on their registration plates."

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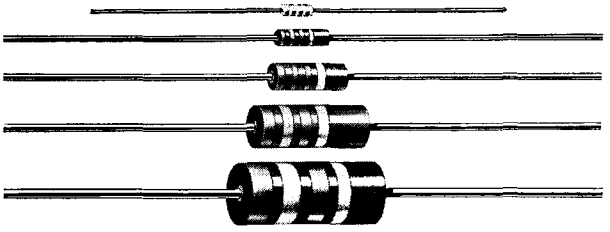

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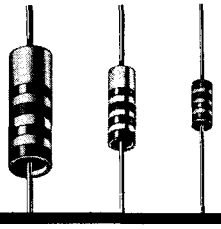
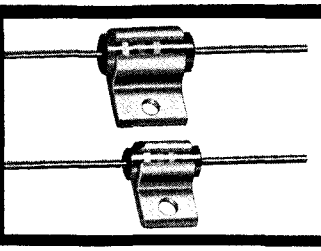
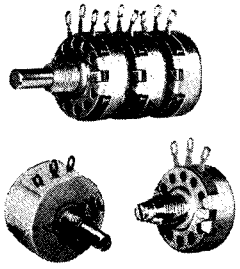


HERMETICALLY SEALED HOT MOLDED RESISTORS Environmental protection provided by sealing in ceramic tube. Remain stable. Rated ⅛, ⅓, and 1 watt at 70°C. Tol. ± 2% and ± 5%. Res. to 22 meg.



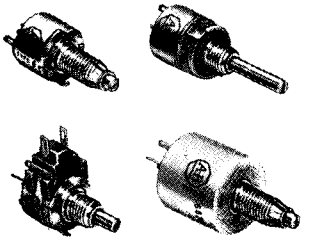
COPPER CLAD HOT MOLDED RESISTORS have heavy tinned copper heat sink for increased ratings. Rated 3 and 4 watts at 70°C; 4 and 5 watts at 40°C. Tol. ± 5% and ± 10%. Res. to 22 meg.

VARIABLE RESISTORS



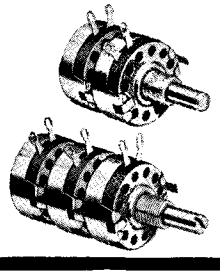
TYPE J HOT MOLDED POTENTIOMETERS give smooth, quiet control—long life. On accelerated tests, good for over 100,000 operations with less than 10% resistance change. Can be built to any desired taper. Rated 2.25 watts at 70°C. Values to 5 meg.

TYPE K HIGH TEMPERATURE HOT MOLDED POTENTIOMETERS Same as above but rated 1 watt at 125°C; 2 watts at 100°C; and 3 watts at 70°C.

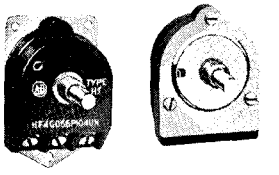


TYPE G HOT MOLDED POTENTIOMETERS are miniature controls—only ½" diameter. Smooth control with long life—on accelerated tests will exceed 50,000 operations with less than 10% resistance change. Rated ½ watt at 70°C. Values to 5 meg.

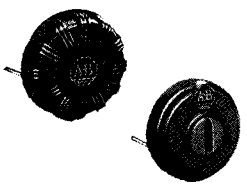
TYPE L HIGH TEMPERATURE HOT MOLDED POTENTIOMETERS are same as above but rated ½ watt at 100°C—can be used up to 150°C at reduced load.



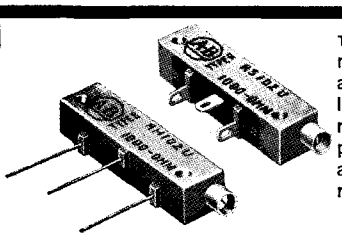
HOT MOLDED VARIABLE RESISTORS for use in constant impedance attenuators. Smooth control with nearly infinite resolution. Characteristic impedance can be held to 10% throughout rotation. Excellent high frequency response. Rated up to 5 watts.



TYPE H HOT MOLDED POTENTIOMETERS for industrial and commercial electronic equipment requiring higher voltage and wattage ratings. Stepless control. Life exceeds 100,000 operations on accelerated tests with less than 10% resistance change. Rated 5 watts at 40°C and 3 watts at 70°C, with a maximum of 750 volts.



TYPE T HOT MOLDED POTENTIOMETERS have molded plastic covers that serve as actuators, making units unusually flat and compact. Smooth control. Furnished in any desired tapers. Long life—over 50,000 operations on accelerated tests with less than 10% resistance change. Rated ½ watt at 70°C. Values to 5 meg.



TYPE R ADJUSTABLE FIXED RESISTORS remain stable under extremes of shock and vibration. Moving element is self-locking. Smooth, continuous adjustment. Noninductive. Watertight case permits encapsulation. Rated ¼ watt at 70°C. Values from 100 ohms to 2.5 megs. Tol. ± 10% and ± 20%.

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